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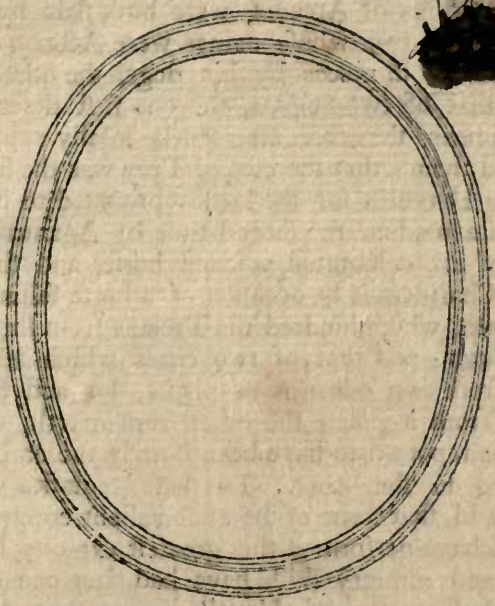

QUINTUS SERTORIUS.

IT is no great wonder, if in a long courſe of ages, as fortune is ſo variable and inconſtant, occurrences of the ſame kind ſhould often be caſually produced. For if the number of ſubjects to be wrought upon be infinite, fortune being ſupplied with matter ſufficiently copious, may more eaſily produce this remarkable likeneſs in human affairs: or if otherwiſe all things are compoſed of a finite and limited number of events, when theſe have all appeared, the ſame of neceſſity muſt again come to paſs. Some perſons being delighted with ſuch events as exactly reſemble one another, make collections of thoſe occurences of this kind which they have heard, or read of, and from the reſemblance they obſerve in them, repreſent them as the works of

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reaſon and providence. Thus they obſerve, that two eminent perſons, (1) whoſe names were Attis, the one of Syria, the other of Arcadia, were both ſlain by a wild boar; that of two whoſe names were Actæon (2), the one was torn in pieces by his dogs, the other by his lovers; that of two Scipios, the one firſt defeated the Carthaginians, the other afterwards totally ruined and deſtroyed them; that the city of Troy was the firſt time taken by Hercules for the horſes promiſed to be given him by Laomedon, the ſecond time by Agamemnon by means of the celebrated wooden horſe, and the third time by Charidemus by occaſion of a horſe falling down at the gate, which hindred the Trojans from ſhutting it ſoon enough; and that of two cities which take their names from two odoriferous plants, Jos and Smyrna, the one from a violet, the other from myrrh, the poet Homer is reported to have been born in the one, and to have died in the other. To theſe remarks we may further add, that ſome of the moſt valiant commanders, and who have performed the greateſt exploits by ſtratagems and military ſkill, have had but one eye; as Philip, Antigonus, and Hannibal, and Sertorius alſo, whoſe life and actions we are now to deſcribe, and of whom we may juſtly ſay that he was more chaſte than Philip, more faithful to his friends than Antigonus, and more merciful to his enemies than Hannibal; in prudence he gave place to none of them; but in fortune he was inferior to them all. But though he was every way more ſevere and cruel to him than his declared enemies, yet in military ſkill and experience he was equal to Metellus; in boldneſs and reſolution, to Pompey; in ſucceſs, to Sylla; and in power he was a match for the whole Roman empire, though a baniſhed man, and a ſtranger amongſt a barbarous people. Of

(1) In Pauſanias's Achaicks, we read that a perſon called Attis, or Attes, the ſon of Calaus the Phrygian, lying under a natural incapacity of having children, went into Lydia, where he inſtructed the people in the rites and ceremonies peculiar to the mother of the Gods, and that he was ſo beloved, and honoured by that Goddeſs, that Jupiter provoked at it ſent a monſtrous boar into Lydia, that ravaged all their fields, ſlew many of the Lydians, and among

Of all the Grecian commanders, Eumenes of Cardia may be beſt compared with him; for they were both of them great generals, both valiant and at the ſame time politick; they were both aliens and ſtrangers, lived at a diſtance from their native country, and had the command of foreign forces; both had fortune for their adverſary, who was ſo extremely injurious to them in the end, that they both died by the treachery of thoſe by whoſe aſſiſtance they had formerly overcome their enemies.

Quintus Sertorius was of a reputable family, born in the city of Nurſia, in the country of the Sabines. His father died when he was young, but he was carefully and decently educated by his mother, whoſe name was Rhea, and whom he extremely loved and honoured. He exerciſed himſelf in oratory and pleading in his youth, which he performed ſo well that he acquired a conſiderable degree of reputation and power in Rome by his eloquence. But the ſplendor of his glorious actions in arms induced him to alter his ambition, and to ſeek for honour wholly in war. At his firſt entering the field, he ſerved under Cæpio (3), when the Cimbri and Teutones invaded Gaul; where, the Romans being worſted and put to flight, he was wounded in many parts of his body, and thrown from his horſe; nevertheleſs he ſwam acroſs the river Rhone in his armour, with his breaſt-plate and ſhield, bearing himſelf up againſt the force of the ſtream; ſuch was his ſtrength of body, and power of enduring labour, which he had acquired by long exerciſe.

When the Cimbri and Teutones came down a ſecond time with a vaſt army and with with dreadful menaces, when it was no ſmall merit in a Roman ſoldier to keep his rank, and obey his commander, Sertorius undertook to

among them Attis himſelf. But I am a perfect ſtranger to the hiſtory of the ſecond Attis.

(2) Actæon the ſon of Ariſtæus, was torn in pieces by his own dogs, as was Actæon the ſon of Meliſſus by the Bacchiadæ, as the reader may find in in the ſcholiaſt upon Apollonius, lib. iv.

(3) This was the Proconſul Q. Servilius Cæpio, who with the Conſul Cn. Mallius was overthrown by the Cimbri in the year of Rome 648.

to view the enemy's camp. For this purpoſe having learned the manner of their ſalutations, and the ordinary expreſſions of their language, he threw himſelf in-amongſt the barbarians, dreſſed in a Celtick habit; and having either ſeen himſelf, or heard from others, what was moſt important for him to know, he returned to Marius, General of the Roman army, from whoſe hands he received the honourable reward of his valour. And afterwards giving frequent demonſtrations both of his conduct and courage during the reſt of the war, he was advanced to places of honour and truſt under his General, who highly eſteemed and confided in him.

After the wars with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was ſent into Spain, as military tribune under Didius the Roman General, and wintered in the country of the Celtiberians, in the city of Caſtulo, where the ſoldiers enjoying great plenty of all things, grew inſolent, being almoſt continually drunk, ſo that the inhabitants deſpiſed them, and ſent for aid by night to the Gyriſcenians their near neighbours, who fell upon the Romans in their lodgings, and ſlew a great number of them. But Sertorius withdrew out of the city with a few of his ſoldiers, and rallying the reſt who had ſlipped out, he marched round about the walls, and finding the gate open, by which the Gyriſcenians had privately entered, he did not commit the ſame fault that they had done; but placing a guard at the gate, and ſeizing upon all the quarters of the city, he ſlew all who were of age to bear arms. Then ordering his ſoldiers to lay aſide their weapons, and their own cloaths, and to put on the accoutrements of the barbarians, he commanded them to follow him to the city, from whence thoſe were ſent who fell upon the Romans by night. The Gyriſcenians being deceived by the ſight of their own armour and equipage, he found the gates of their city open, and took great numbers of them priſoners, who came out, thinking to meet their friends and fellow-citizens returning from the ſucceſsful execution of their enterprize. Many alſo were ſlain by the Romans at the gates,

gates, and the reſt within ſurrendered themſelves, and were ſold for ſlaves.

This action made Sertorius to be highly renowned throughout all Spain; and as ſoon as he returned to Rome, he was appointed Quæſtor of Gallia Ciſalpina. This was very advantageous for the Roman affairs at that time; for as the Marſian war was then breaking out, Sertorius was ordered to raiſe ſoldiers, and provide arms, which he performed with ſuch diligence and ſpeed, as was very unlike the tedious ſlothful management of other young men; ſo that he acquired the reputation of a man of great ſpirit and activity in buſineſs. Nor did he at all abate of his military boldneſs and bravery, when he arrived at the dignity of a great commander, but performed wonderful exploits with his own hands; and as he never ſpared himſelf, but freely expoſed his perſon, he loſt one of his eyes in battle. However he always gloried in this deformity, ſaying that others did not continually carry about with them the teſtimonies of their valour, but often laid aſide their chains of gold, their ſpears and crowns; whereas his enſigns of honour always remained with him, and thoſe who beheld his misfortune, beheld at the ſame time a proof of his courage. The people alſo paid him the reſpect due to his merit; and when he came into the theatre, they received him with clapping of hands, and loud acclamations; which ſort of applauſe was not eaſily obtained even by perſons who were more advanced in age, and of greater dignity in the commonwealth.

Notwithſtanding this popularity, when he ſtood for the tribuneſhip, he was diſappointed, being oppoſed by Sylla's faction; and this ſeems to have been the principal cauſe of the irreconcileable hatred he bore to Sylla.

After Marius was overcome by Sylla, and had fled into Africa, and Sylla had left Italy to carry on the war againſt Mithridates, Octavius one of the conſuls remained in the intereſt of Sylla, but Cinna the other Conſul, who affected innovations, attempted to reſtore the loſt intereſt of Marius. Sertorius adhered to Cinna, perceiving that Octavius was an inactive man, and that he was

alſo ſuſpicious of any one that was a friend to Marius.

When the battle was fought between the two conſuls in the Forum, Octavius won the victory, and Cinna and Sertorius having loſt near ten thouſand men, left the city. But perſuading the ſoldiers, who were diſperſed about in many parts of Italy, to join them, they in a ſhort time collected a force ſufficient to engage Octavius again.

Marius about this time arrived from Africa, proffered to ſerve under Cinna, as a private ſoldier under his Conſul and Commander. Moſt of Cinna's friends were for receiving Marius, but Sertorius declared againſt it, either thinking that his intereſt with Cinna would be diminiſhed by the preſence of a perſon of greater authority, or fearing that the violence of Marius would bring all things into confuſion, and that if they ſhould gain the victory, his cruel vindictive ſpirit would tranſport him beyond all the rules and limits of juſtice. He therefore repreſented to Cinna, that they might look upon themſelves as already victorious, that there remained little to be done, and that if they admitted Marius, he would not only deprive them of the glory and advantage of the war, but would alſo prove a very uneaſy and unfaithful partner in the government. To which Cinna anſwered, "That he judged very rightly, "but that he himſelf was at a loſs how to act, being "aſhamed to reject him, whom he ſent for to be part-"ner in all his concerns." To which Sertorius replied, "I thought Marius came into Italy of his own accord, "and therefore I adviſed you to what I thought was "moſt expedient: but you ought not to have even deli-"berated whether you ſhould admit him or not after "you had invited him. You are by ſo doing under an "obligation to receive him, and to accept of his ſervice; "for your word when once given, leaves no room for "debate."

Marius being ſent for by Cinna, and their forces divided into three parts, under Cinna, Marius, and Sertorius, the war was carried on ſucceſsfully. But Cinna and Marius committed every kind of outrage and violence; ſo that the Romans eſteemed the evils which they had

had ſuffered during the war to be bleſſings when compared with thoſe which they ſuffered afterwards. It is ſaid however, that Sertorius never killed any man to ſatisfy his own reſentment, nor inſulted any one whom he had conquered, but was much offended with the inhumanity of Marius, and would often converſe privately with Cinna, and intreat him to mitigate his fury, and to uſe his power more moderately. At laſt, when the ſlaves whom Marius had freed at his landing, to increaſe his army, and whom he had made not only his fellow-ſoldiers in the war, but alſo his guards and the executioners of his tyrannical cruelty, became ſtrong and numerous, and partly by the permiſſion and command of Marius, and partly from their own ungovernable inſolence and fury, had proceeded to the moſt enormous outrages againſt their maſters, killing many of them, raviſhing their wives, and abuſing their children, their crimes appeared ſo intolerable to Sertorius, that he ſlew them all to the number of four thouſand as they lay encamped together.

Afterwards when Marius was dead, and Cinna was ſlain, and when the younger Marius had uſurped the ſupreme authority, and made himſelf Conſul againſt the will of Sertorius, and the laws of Rome; when Carbo, Norbanus and Scipio had fought unſucceſsfully againſt Sylla; when much was loſt by the cowardice and remiſſneſs of the commanders, and by the treachery of their own party; when their affairs were ſo miſerably ſhattered that they could not be ſupported even by the preſence of Sertorius, becauſe thoſe who had the greateſt authority were perſons of no prudence or conduct; and laſtly, when Sylla had placed his camp near to Scipio, and by pretending friendſhip, and offering him terms of peace, had corrupted his army, which Scipio could not be made ſenſible of, although often forewarned of it by Sertorius; he then utterly deſpaired of the proſperity of Rome, and made haſte into Spain; that by taking poſſeſſion of it beforehand, he might eſtabliſh his power in a country, which would be a refuge to his friends, and a ſupport to his declining party. But having bad weather in his journey, and travelling through

through mountainous countries, where the inhabitants ſtopped him by the way, and demanded money for his paſſage, thoſe who were with him were out of all patience, repreſenting it as an inſupportable diſhonour for a Proconſul of Rome to pay tribute to a crew of wretched barbarians. But he ſlighted this ſeeming diſgrace, and told them, "he muſt buy time, the moſt pre-"cious of all things to thoſe who go upon great enter-"prizes." Then pacifying the barbarians with money, he made all the haſte he could to take poſſeſſion of Spain. This country was flouriſhing and populous, and abounded with young men fit to bear arms; but by reaſon of the inſolence and covetouſneſs of the commanders ſent thither yearly from Rome, the inhabitants were very averſe to the Roman government. But he ſoon gained the affection of the nobility, by converſing familiarly with them, and ingratiated himſelf with the people by remitting their taxes. But that which made him moſt beloved, was his exempting them from finding lodgings for the ſoldiers; for he commanded his army to take up their winter quarters without the cities, and to pitch their tents in the fields; and he himſelf, firſt of all, cauſed his own pavilion to be raiſed without the walls. Yet not being willing to rely totally upon the good inclination of the inhabitants, he armed all the Romans who lived in thoſe countries, who were of proper age, and began to build ſhips and to make all ſorts of warlike engines, by which means he kept the cities in due obedience, being affable and courteous in time of peace, and appearing formidable to his enemies by his great preparations for war.

As ſoon as he was informed that Sylla had made himſelf maſter of Rome, and that the party of Marius and Carbo was utterly deſtroyed, he expected that ſome commander with a conſiderable army would ſpeedily come againſt him; he therefore ſent away Julius Salinator with ſix thouſand men, to guard the Pyrenean mountains. Caius Annius not long after was ſent thither by Sylla; and finding that Julius Salinator's camp was impregnable by reaſon of its ſituation, he ſat down

at

at the foot of the mountains in great perplexity. But one Calpurnius Lanarius having treacherously slain Julius Salinator, and his forces having quitted the tops of the Pyrenean mountains, Caius Annius came forward with a great army, and passing over forced those from their stations who endeavoured to hinder his march. Sertorius not being strong enough to give him battle, retreated with three thousand men into New Carthage, where he embarked and crossed over to Mauritania in Attica. His men going on shore to water, and straggling about negligently, were attacked by the Africans, who slew a great number of them. This new misfortune forced him to sail back again into Spain, from whence he was also repulsed; but the Cilician pirates joining with him, they sailed to the island of Pityusa, where they landed, and overpowered the garrison placed there by Caius Annius, who also came thither not long after with a great fleet, and five thousand soldiers. Sertorius prepared to fight him by sea, though his ships were not built for strength, but for lightness and swift sailing; but a violent west-wind raised such a storm, that many of Sertorius's ships, on account of their lightness were driven upon the rocky shores, and he himself with a few vessels, being prevented by the storm from putting further out to sea, and hindred from landing by his enemies, was tossed about for ten days together by the boisterous waves, and escaped at last with great difficulty. After the wind ceased, he ran into certain desolate islands scattered about in those seas, affording no water; from whence making out to sea again, he passed the streights, and turning to the right hand he landed a little above the mouth of the river Bætis, where it falls into the Atlantick ocean, and gives the name to all that part of Spain. Here he met with some seamen, newly arrived from the Atlantick islands. These are two in number, divided from one another only by a narrow channel, and are distant from the coast of Africa ten thousand furlongs. They are called "The fortunate islands." The rain falls seldom there, and then in moderate showers; but

but for the most part they have gentle breezes, bringing along with them soft dews, which so enrich the soil, that it not only is fertile when plowed and planted, but even produces of itself plenty of delicious fruits sufficient to feed the inhabitants, who may here be supported without trouble or labour. The seasons of the year are temperate, and the alteration from one to the other so moderate, that the air is always serene and healthful. The rough northerly and eastern winds, which blow towards these islands from the continent are dissipated by reason of the vast distance, and utterly lose their force before they reach these parts. The soft western and southerly winds which breathe upon them, sometimes produce mild sprinkling showers; but for the most part they gently refresh the earth only with fruitful dews, and the nourishing moisture of the air. So that it is firmly believed, even by the barbarous people themselves, that this is the seat of the blessed, and that these are the Elysian fields so highly celebrated by Homer.

As soon as Sertorius heard this account, he was seized with a wonderful desire to go and live there in peace and repose, far from the noise of war, and free from the troubles of government. But his inclinations being perceived by the Cilician pirates, who love not peace and repose, but desire to rove about in quest of riches and plunder, they immediately forsook him, and sailed away into Africa, to assist Ascalis the son of Iptha, and to restore him to his kingdom of Mauritania.

The sudden departure of the Cilicians did not however discourage Sertorius; for he presently resolved to assist the enemies of Ascalis; and by this new adventure he kept his soldiers together, who from hence conceived new hopes of their future prosperity, and began to have a better prospect of their affairs. His arrival in Mauritania being very acceptable to the Moors, he lost no time, but immediately giving battle to Ascalis, beat him out of the field, and besieged him; and Paccianus being sent by Sylla with a powerful supply to raise the siege, Sertorius slew him in the field, defeated

his

his army and then joined it to his own; after which he took the city of Tingis, where Aſcalis and his brothers were fled for refuge. The Africans report that Antæus was buried in this city; but Sertorius being unwilling to truſt common fame, which repreſented his body as of a moſt prodigious length, cauſed his ſepulchre to be opened, and finding, as they ſay, that his corps was threeſcore cubits long, he was ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and immediately offered up ſacrifice to the gods, and cloſed the tomb again; thus he increaſed the fame of the ſepulchre, and added new honours to the memory of Antæus. The inhabitants of Tingis further alledge, that after the death of Antæus, his wife Tinga lived with Hercules, and had a ſon by him called Sophax, who was King of theſe countries, and gave his mother's name to this city; and that Sophax had a ſon called Diodorus, who ſubdued a great part of Africa with an army of Greeks, which he raiſed out of the colonies of the Olbianians and Myceneans ſettled here by Hercules. I mention theſe paſſages for the ſake of King Juba, the beſt hiſtorian of any King, and whoſe family is ſaid to be derived from Diodorus and Sophax.

When Sertorius had made himſelf maſter of the whole country, he did no injury to thoſe who yielded themſelves up to his mercy, but reſtored to them their eſtates, their cities, their laws and privileges, accepting only of ſuch acknowledgments as they themſelves freely offered.

Whilſt he was conſidering which way next to turn his arms, the Luſitanians ſent ambaſſadors to deſire him to be their General; for being terrified with the Roman power, and finding the neceſſity of having a commander of great authority and experience, being alſo ſufficiently informed of his character by thoſe who were acquainted with him, they would commit themſelves to the care of no one but him. For Sertorius was of a temper not to be ſurprized with fear, nor to be captivated with pleaſure; in adverſity and dangers he was undaunted, and in proſperity never elated. Upon a ſudden aſſault or dangerous attempt, no commander in his

time

time was more bold and daring; if any thing was to be performed in war by deceit, circumvention or ſurprize, if any ſtrong place was to be ſeized, or any paſs to be gained ſpeedily, he ſhowed great readineſs and depth of contrivance. In beſtowing rewards and honours upon thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their valour, he was bountiful and magnificent even to prodigality, but very ſparing and backward in puniſhing offenders. Yet that cruelty which he exerciſed in the latter part of his life, upon the Spaniſh hoſtages, ſeems to argue, that his clemency was not natural, but only aſſumed for the ſake of his intereſt. I think, indeed, that ſincere virtue founded on reaſon and mature judgment can never be totally perverted or extirpated by any misfortune whatever; but I do not think it impoſſible that great and undeſerved calamities and diſgraces, may make ſome alteration in the beſt diſpoſitions. And thus I ſuppoſe it happened to Sertorius, who being exaſperated by ill fortune, and the unhappy ſtate of his affairs, was at laſt ſevere to thoſe who had unworthily injured him.

The Luſitanians having ſent for Sertorius, he left Africa, and being made General with abſolute authority, he immediately formed an army, with which he brought the neighbouring parts of Spain into ſubjection; many countries alſo voluntarily ſubmitted themſelves, being induced by the fame of his clemency, and of his military talents. Upon ſome occaſions alſo he invented ſtrange artifices and impoſtures to pleaſe and delude the people; amongſt which that of the hind was certainly none of the leaſt. Spanus, a countryman, who lived in thoſe parts, meeting by chance a hind that had newly calved, flying from the hunters, he let the dam go, and purſuing the fawn took it, being wonderfully pleaſed with the peculiarity of the colour, which was perfectly white. Sertorius was then in thoſe parts; and as he received courteouſly ſuch preſents of fruit, fowl,

(4) We meet with an inſtance of the ſame kind in the life of Marius, who but a few years before the time of which Plutarch is now writing, had a Syrian woman with

fowl, or veniſon, as the country afforded, and rewarded liberally thoſe who preſented them, the countryman brought him his young hind, which he kindly accepted, and was much pleaſed with at the firſt ſight; but when in time he had made it ſo tame and gentle, that it would come when he called, and follow him whereſoever he went, and could endure the noiſe and tumult of the camp; knowing well that the barbarians are naturally prone to ſuperſtition, by degrees he deified it, and told the people (4) that it was given him by Diana, and that it diſcovered to him many ſecrets. To this alſo he added theſe further contrivances; if he had received at any time private intelligence, that the enemy had made an incurſion into thoſe provinces which were under his command, or had ſolicited any city to revolt, he pretended that he hind had informed him of it in his ſleep, and charged him to keep his forces in readineſs; or if he had notice that any of the commanders under him had got a victory, he would hide the meſſengers, and bring forth the hind crowned with flowers, for joy of the good news that was to come, and would encourage his men to rejoice and ſacrifice to the Gods for the good account they ſhould ſoon receive of their ſucceſs. By theſe methods he brought them to be more tractable and obedient in all things; for now they thought themſelves no longer to be led by a ſtranger, but rather by a hero, or a God. And this imagination was confirmed by the increaſe of his power beyond all human reaſon or probability: for with two thouſand five hundred men, whom he called Romans, joined with ſeven hundred Africans, who landed with him when he firſt entered Luſitania, together with four thouſand Luſitanian foot, and ſeven hundred horſe, he made war with four Roman generals, who commanded a hundred and twenty thouſand foot, ſix thouſand horſe, two thouſand archers and ſlingers, and innumerable cities; whereas at firſt he had not above twenty cites in all. Yet from this

with him who paſſed for a great propheteſs, and two tame vultures that were let looſe on purpoſe to follow him.

(5) The

this weak and slender beginning, he became afterwards so considerable, that he took many cities, and subdued great and powerful countries. Of the Roman commanders who were sent against him, he overthrew Cotta in a sea-fight, in the strait near the city of Mellaria; he routed Phidius chief commander of Hispania Bætica, and slew two thousand Romans near the river Bætis. Domitius and Lucius Manlius Proconsul of another province of Spain were overthrown in a set battle by one of his lieutenants; he slew Thoranius a commander sent against him by Metellus with a great force, and destroyed his whole army; and Metellus the greatest General in those times, was often circumvented by him, and reduced to such extremities, that Lucius Lollius was obliged to come to his assistance out of Gallia Narbonensis, and Pompey the Great was sent into Spain in all haste with another considerable army. Nor did Metellus know which way to turn himself, having to do with a man of undaunted boldness, who was continually harrassing him, and yet could not be brought to a pitched battle; for by the swiftness and dexterity of his Spanish soldiery he was able to change his station, and to cast his army into every kind of form. For though Metellus had great experience in conducting heavy armed legions when drawn up in due order into a standing phalanx to encounter the enemy hand to hand and overpower them by force, yet he was not able to climb up steep hills, and to be continually upon the pursuit of a swift enemy, nor could he like them endure hunger, nor live exposed to the weather without fire or covering. Besides, Metellus being now in years, and having been formerly engaged in many battles and undergone great fatigues, was inclined to lead a more remiss, easy, and voluptuous life. But Sertorius with whom he contended was in the prime of his age; his mind was in its full vigour, and his body wonderfully fitted for war, being strong, nimble and active; for he was continually accustomed to endure hard labour, to take long journies, and to pass many nights together without sleep, to eat little, and to be satisfied with very coarse fare. He never was guilty of

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any excefs in drinking, even when he was moft at leifure; but what time he had to fpare, he fpent in hunting, and riding into all parts, whereby he underftood the courfe and fituation of the country, fo that when he could not maintain the fight he knew which way to efcape, and where certainly to enfnare and encompafs his enemy when he was victorious. Thus Metellus, by not being able to come to an engagement, fuffered all the inconveniences of a defeat, and Sertorius, though he declined fighting, reaped all the advantages of conqueft, for he hindered the Romans from foraging, and cut off their proviſions; if they proceeded forward, he ftopped their march; if they ftayed in any place and encamped, he continually moleſted and alarmed them; if they beſieged any town, he preſently appeared and beſieged them again, by reducing them to the want of neceſſaries; ſo that he wearied out the Roman army, and reduced them to ſo low and deſpairing a condition, that when Sertorius challenged Metellus to fight ſingly with him, they commended him, and cried out, "It was fit that a "Roman ſhould fight againſt a Roman, and a General "againſt a General;" and when Metellus refuſed the challenge, they reproached and ridiculed him. But Metellus juſtly derided and contemned their cenſures; for, as Theophraſtus obſerves, "a General ſhould die like a "General, and not like a common ſoldier."

Metellus perceiving that the city of the Lagobrites, which gave great aſſiſtance to Sertorius, might eaſily be taken for want of water, (for there being but one well within the wall, whoever beſieged the place might make himſelf maſter of the ſprings and fountains in the ſuburbs) hoped to force the town in two days time, and commanded his ſoldiers to take only five days proviſions. But Sertorius reſolving to ſend ſpeedy relief, ordered two thouſand veſſels to be filled with water, and offered a large reward for the carriage of every veſſel. Many Spaniards and Moors undertook the work; and chuſing out thoſe who were ſtrongeſt and ſwifteſt of foot, he ſent them through the mountains, with orders, that when they had delivered the water, they ſhould

convey away privately all those who would be least serviceable in the siege, that there might be water sufficient for those who were employed in the defence of the place. As soon as Metellus understood this, he was greatly disturbed, most part of the necessary provisions for his army being already consumed; he therefore sent out Aquilius with six thousand soldiers to fetch in fresh supplies; but Sertorius having notice of it, laid an ambush for him, and having sent out beforehand three thousand men, whom he placed within a shady valley, in a channel which had been made hollow by the rapid fall of water from the hills, they fell upon the rear of Aquilius in his return, while Sertorius charging him in front, destroyed part of his army, and took the rest prisoners. Aquilius escaped, after he had been thrown from his horse, and lost his arms; and Metellus being forced shamefully to raise the siege, exposed himself to the laughter and contempt of the Spaniards, while Sertorius became the object of their esteem and admiration. He was also highly honoured for altering their furious savage manner of fighting, bringing them to make use of the Roman armour, and teaching them to keep their ranks, and follow their ensigns; for thus out of a confused number of thieves and robbers, he constituted a regular well-disciplined army. He likewise bestowed silver and gold upon them liberally to gild and adorn their helmets; he caused their shields to be wrought, and engraved with various figures and designs; he brought them into the mode of wearing flowered and embroidered cloaths; and by furnishing them with money for these purposes, and by joining with them in the same emulation, he won their affections, and led them whither he pleased. But that which delighted them most, was the care he took of their children, when he sent for all the noblemen's sons in those parts, and placed them in Osca, a very considerable city, where he appointed masters to instruct them in the Grecian and Roman

(5) The same custom prevailed in Gaul, where a number of men called Soldurii, devoted themselves to a Prince or some other great man, to share with him in his fortune, both good and bad, and either to fall with him in battle, or

man learning, that when they came to be men they might be fitted to ſhare with in authority, and in the government of the commonwealth; although under this pretence of their better education, he really made them hoſtages. However their fathers were wonderfully pleaſed to ſee their children went daily to the ſchools in good order, handſomely dreſſed in garments edged with purple, and that Sertorius paid a ſalary for their learning, examined them often, diſtributed rewards to the moſt deſerving, and gave them thoſe ornaments of gold to hang about their necks, which the Romans call Bullæ.

It was at that time a cuſtom in Spain, that when a great commander was ſlain in battle, thoſe who attended his perſon, fought it out till they all died with him, which the inhabitants of thoſe countries called an offering, or libation (5). The other commanders had but a ſmall number of attendants of this ſort, but Sertorius had many thouſands who offered up themſelves, and vowed to ſacrifice their lives with his. And it is reported, that when his army was defeated near a city in Spain, and the enemy preſſed hard upon them, the Spaniards took no care for themſelves, but being totally ſollicitous to ſave Sertorius, they took him upon their ſhoulders, and paſſed him from one to another, till they had conveyed him into the city; and when they had thus placed their General in ſafety, every one provided afterwards for his own ſecurity.

Nor were the Spaniards alone ambitious to ſerve him, but the Roman ſoldiers alſo that came out of Italy were impatient to be under his command. For when Perpenna Vento, who was of the ſame faction with Sertorius, came into Spain with great riches, and a powerful army, and deſigned to make war againſt Metellus by himſelf, his own ſoldiers oppoſed it, and diſcourſed continually of the great fame and merit of Sertorius. This was no ſmall mortification to Perpenna, who was proud

or kill themſelves in caſe he was defeated; which was a point of honour wherein none of them were ever known to fail. Cæſ. de bell Gall. lib. 3. This cuſtom has likewiſe been practiſed in other countries.

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proud of his family and his riches. And when they afterwards underſtood that Pompey had paſſed the Pyrenæan mountains, they took up their arms, laid hold on their enſigns, called upon Perpenna to lead them to Sertorius, and threatened him, that if he refuſed it, they would go and place themſelves under a commander who was able to defend himſelf and thoſe that ſerved him. This forced Perpenna to yield to their deſires, and immediately joining with Sertorius, he added to his army fifty-three cohorts. When all the cities on this ſide of the river Iberus alſo united their forces together under his command, his army grew very numerous; for they flocked to him from all quarters. But as they were a raſh diſorderly multitude, and continually called upon him to charge the enemy, being impatient of delay, this gave great uneaſineſs to Sertorius, who at firſt ſtrove to reſtrain them by reaſon and perſuaſion; but when he perceived them refractory and unſeaſonably violent, he gave way to their impetuous deſires, and permitted them to engage with the enemy, in ſuch a manner, that being repulſed, yet not totally routed, he hoped they would become more obedient to his commands for the future; which happening as he conjectured, he ſoon reſcued them, and brought them ſafe into his camp. After a few days being willing to encourage them again, when he had called all his army together, he cauſed two horſes to be brought into the field, the one old, feeble, and lean, the other large and ſtrong, with a very fair, thick, long tail. Near to the lean horſe he placed a tall ſtrong man, and near to the ſtrong one a little man of a deſpicable appearance. At a ſignal given, the ſtrong man took hold of the weak horſe's tail with both his hands, and drew it to him with his whole force, as if he would pull it off at once; the other man in the mean time began to pluck off hair by hair the great horſe's tail. When the ſtrong man had laboured much in vain, and made himſelf the jeſt of all the ſpectators, he gave over; but the weak little man in a ſhort time, and with great eaſe, pulled off every hair from the great horſe's tail. Then Sertorius roſe up, and ſpoke to his army

army after this manner: "You see, fellow-soldiers, that "perseverance is more efficacious than force. Many things "which cannot be overcome when they are together, are "subdued by degrees when they are separated. Assiduity "is resistless, and in time overthrows and destroys the great "est powers whatever; time being the friend and assistant of "those who have judgment to wait for the opportunities he "affords, and the destructive enemy of such as are unseason-"ably urging and pressing forward." By such inventions and discourses, wherewith he frequently entertained them, he restrained the temerity of the barbarians, and taught them to wait the best opportunities of fighting.

But of all his remarkable exploits and stratagems in war, none raised greater admiration, than that which he put in practice against the Characitani, a people living beyond the river Tagus, who inhabited neither cities nor towns, but dwelt on a vast high hill, in the deep dens and caves of the rocks, the mouths of which open all towards the north. The country below is a clayish chalky soil; and being also light and porous, it is apt to be crumbled and broken into powder, and is not firm enough to bear any one that treads upon it; and if touched in the least, it flies about like ashes, or unslaked lime. In any danger of war, these people descend into their caves, and carrying in their booty along with them, are free from all fear, and think themselves invincible. And when Sertorius, being at some distance from Metellus, had placed his camp near this hill, they treated him with contempt and insult, imagining that he retired into those parts, being overthrown by the Romans. Sertorius, either resenting this affront, or being unwilling to be thought to fly from his enemies, rode thither early in the morning to view the situation of the place; but finding there was no way to come at it, as he rode about threatening them in vain, he took notice that the wind raised the dust, and carried it up towards the caves of the Characitani, the mouths of which, as we said before, opened towards the north. The north wind which some call Cæcias, prevails most in those parts, and is engendered out of the moist and marshy

plains and the mountains covered with ſnow; and in the heat of ſummer being ſupplied and encreaſed by the melting of the ice on the peaks of the northern hills, it blows a delightful freſh gale, which recreates the Characitani, and refreſhes their cattle all the day long. Sertorius conſidering well all circumſtances, wherein either the information of the inhabitants, or his own obſervation had inſtructed him, commanded his ſoldiers to ſhovel up a great quantity of this light duſty earth, to heap it up together, and make a mount of it over againſt the hill wherein theſe barbarous people reſided; who imagining that all this preparation was for the raiſing of a fort in order to attack them, laughed at it at firſt as a ridiculous impracticable deſign; however he continued the work till the evening, and then brought his ſoldiers back into their camp. The next morning, when a gentle breeze aroſe, and moved the lighteſt parts of the earth, and diſperſed it about like ſmoke, and when the ſun coming to be higher, the bluſtering northerly wind had covered the hills with the duſt, ſome of the ſoldiers turned this new mount of earth over and over, and broke the clods of clay in pieces, whilſt others on horſeback rode through it backward and forward, and raiſed a cloud of duſt, which being committed to the wind, was blown into the dwellings of the Characitani, the entrances into which were all towards the north; and there being no other vent or paſſage, than that through which the wind ruſhed in upon them, it quickly blinded their eyes, and filled their lungs, and cauſed a difficulty of breathing, as they could draw in nothing but a ſuffocating air mingled with ſtreams of duſt; ſo that after they had with great difficulty held out two days, they ſurrendered on the third. This ſucceſs added not ſo much to the power of Sertorius, as it encreaſed his glory, in letting the world ſee that he was able to conquer thoſe places by art, which were impregnable by arms.

He was generally ſucceſsful during the whole war againſt Metellus, who by reaſon of his age and his ſlow temper was not able to reſiſt the activity and bravery of

of Sertorius, who commanded a light army, more like a band of robbers, than a body of regular ſoldiers. But when Pompey alſo had paſſed over the Pyrenæan mountains, and Sertorius had pitched his camp over-againſt him, where both of them gave the utmoſt proofs of their bravery, and of their ſkill both in contriving ſtratagems and defeating thoſe of the enemy, and when it was found Sertorius had the advantage, he was highly celebrated even in Rome itſelf, as the moſt able commander of his time. For Pompey's reputation was then at the higheſt, after his remarkable exploits under Sylla, which had induced that General to confer on him the ſurname of Great, and had procured him the honour of a triumph even before his beard was grown. And this it was which made many of the cities which were then under the power of Sertorius to caſt their eyes on Pompey, and inclined them to open their gates to him. But they were deterred from it by that ſucceſs which Sertorius obtained near the city of Lauron, contrary to the expectation of all. For as ſoon as Sertorius had laid ſiege to Lauron, Pompey came with his whole army to relieve it; and there being a hill near the city very advantageouſly ſituated, they both made haſte to ſeize upon it. But Sertorius got poſſeſſion of it firſt; and Pompey having drawn down his forces, was not ſorry that it had thus ſucceeded, for he imagined that he had hereby encloſed his enemy between his own army and the city, and ſent in a meſſenger to the citizens of Lauron, to bid them be of good courage, and to come upon their walls, where they might ſee Sertorius himſelf beſieged. Sertorius perceiving their intentions, laughed and ſaid, "He would now teach Sylla's ſcholar (for ſo he called Pompey in deriſion) "that it was the part of a General to "look behind rather than before him;" and at the ſame time he gave the beſieged an opportunity of ſeeing ſix thouſand ſoldiers which he had left in his former camp, from whence he marched out to take the hill; ſo that if Pompey ſhould aſſault him, they were ready to fall upon his rear. Pompey diſcovered this too late, and not daring to give battle for fear of being encompaſſed

in on every side, and yet being ashamed to leave his friends and confederates in such extreme danger, was forced to sit still and see them ruined before his face; for the besieged despairing of relief, delivered up themselves to Sertorius, who spared their lives, and granted them their liberties, but burnt their city; which he did not out of anger or cruelty, (for of all commanders that ever were, Sertorius seems the least to have indulged these passions) but only that he might humble and mortify the admirers of Pompey, and that it might be reported among the Spaniards, that though he was so near as almost to feel the heat of the fire which burnt down the city of his confederates, he did not dare to relieve them.

Sertorius sustained some losses in these wars, but he was always invincible himself, and it was by other commanders under him that he suffered; and he was more admired for being able to repair his losses, than the Roman generals were for gaining the advantages against him. Thus it happened at the battle of Sucro against Pompey, and at the battle near Turia, against him and Metellus together. It is reported that the battle near the city of Sucro was occasioned by the impatience of Pompey, who was afraid lest Metellus should share with him in the victory, and by the willingness of Sertorius to fight with him before the arrival of Metellus. However, Sertorius delayed the battle till the evening, considering that the darkness of the night would be a great disadvantage to his enemies either in flight or pursuit, as they were strangers, and had no knowledge of the country. When the fight began, it happened that Sertorius was not placed directly against Pompey, but against Afranius, who commanded the left wing of the Roman army, as he commanded the right wing of his own. But when he understood that his left wing began to give way to the furious assaults of Pompey, he committed the care of his right wing to other commanders, and made haste to relieve those in distress; and rallying some that were flying, and encouraging others that still kept their ranks, he renewed the fight, routed the enemy,

my, and brought Pompey into great danger of his life, who being wounded and thrown from his horſe, very narrowly eſcaped; for the Africans who were with Sertorius, having taken Pompey's horſe adorned with gold, and covered with rich trappings, quarrelled about dividing of the ſpoil, and gave over the purſuit. Afranius in the mean time, as ſoon as Sertorius had left his right wing to aſſiſt the other part of his army, overthrew all that oppoſed him, and purſued them to their camp, fell in with them, and plundered them till it was quite dark, knowing nothing of Pompey's overthrow, nor being able to reſtrain his ſoldiers from pillaging. In the mean time Sertorius returning with victory, fell upon the forces of Afranius, which were in diſorder, and ſlew great numbers of them. The next morning he came into the field again well armed, and offered battle; but perceiving that Metellus was near, he drew off, and decamped, ſaying, "If that old woman had not been here, I "would have whipped the boy ſoundly, and ſent him "back to Rome."

He was at this time much concerned for the loſs of his hind, which could no where be found; for thereby he was deſtitute of an admirable contrivance to encourage the barbarians, and that at a time when he moſt ſtood in need of it. But ſome of his men as they were wandering in the night chanced to meet her; and knowing her by her colour, they immediately carried her to Sertorius. He having thus recovered her, promiſed them that found her a generous reward provided they would not tell of it, and concealed her very carefully. A few days after he appeared in publick with a very chearful look, and declared to the chief commanders of the barbarians, that the Gods had foretold him in a dream, that ſome remarkable good fortune ſhould ſuddenly attend him; and whilſt he was ſeated on his tribunal to anſwer the petitions of thoſe who applied to him, the keepers of the hind let her looſe, and ſhe no ſooner eſpied Sertorius, but ſhe ran bounding towards him with great joy, leaped on the tribunal, laid her head on his lap, and licked his hands with her accuſtomed

tomed familiarity. Sertorius in return ſtroaked and careſſed her with all the tokens of a real tenderneſs and affection, inſomuch that he wept for joy. All the ſpectators were immediately filled with aſtoniſhment, and afterwards accompanied him to his houſe with clapping of hands and loud ſhouts of joy, conſidering him as above the rank of common men, and as a perſon highly favoured of the Gods; which belief confirmed their courage, and gave them great hopes of ſucceſs in their future undertakings.

When he had reduced his enemies to the laſt extremity for want of proviſions, he was forced to give them battle in the plains near Saguntum, to hinder them from foraging and plundering the country. Both parties fought with the utmoſt bravery, and Memmius, the greateſt commander in Pompey's army, was ſlain in the heat of the battle; but Sertorius overthrew all before him, and with great ſlaughter of his enemies preſſed forward towards Metellus. He making a brave reſiſtance, beyond what could be expected from one of his years, was wounded with a lance. All the Romans who ſaw or heard of this were ſeized with ſhame at the thought of having thus abandoned their General, but at the ſame time were inſpired with fury againſt their enemies; ſo that having covered Metellus with their ſhields, and brought him off in ſafety, they valiantly repulſed the Spaniards. Thus victory changed ſides, and Sertorius, that he might afford a more ſecure retreat to his army, and that more forces might be raiſed with greater eaſe, retired into a ſtrong city in the mountains; and though it was the leaſt of his intention to ſuſtain a ſiege, yet he began to repair the walls, and to fortify the gates. By this he deluded his enemies, who came and ſat down before the town, hoping to take it without much reſiſtance, and gave over the purſuit of the Spaniards, affording them an opportunity to gather together again, and to raiſe new forces for Sertorius, who had ſent commanders to all their cities, with orders when they had ſufficiently encreaſed their numbers, to ſend him word of it. This news he no ſooner received,

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but he ſallied out and forced his way through his enemies, and eaſily joined the reſt of his army. Having received this conſiderable reinforcement, he fell upon the Romans again, and by fiercely aſſaulting them, by alarming them on all ſides, by enſnaring, encompaſſing, and laying ambuſhes for them, he cut off all their proviſions by land, while with his ſhips of war and piratical veſſels he kept all the coaſt in awe, and hindered their recruits by ſea. By this conduct he forced the Roman general to diſlodge, and to ſeparate from one another. Metellus departed into Gaul, and Pompey wintered among the Vaccæans in a wretched condition. Being in extreme want of money, he wrote a letter to the ſenate, to inform them that if they did not ſpeeedily ſupply him, he muſt draw off his army; for he had already ſpent his own eſtate in the defence of his country. To theſe extremities the greateſt and moſt powerful commanders of the age were reduced by the ſkill and valour of Sertorius; and it was the common opinion in Rome, that he would be ſooner in Italy than Pompey. How far Metellus was terrified by him, and at how high a rate he eſteemed him, he plainly declared, when he offered by proclamation to any Roman that ſhould kill him an hundred talents and twenty thouſand acres of land, and leave, if he were baniſhed, to return; attempting to deſtroy him by treachery when he deſpaired of ever being able to overcome him in open war. And when afterwards he gained ſome advantage in a fight againſt Sertorius, he was ſo wonderfully pleaſed and tranſported with his good fortune, that he cauſed himſelf to be ſtyled Imperator, and ſuffered all the cities through which he paſſed to honour him with altars and ſacrifices; where indulging himſelf in ſplendid entertainments, he would ſit drinking in his triumphal robes, with garlands upon his head, while images of victory were introduced by the motion of machines bringing in with them crowns and trophies of gold to preſent to him, and companies of young men and women danced before him, and complimented him with ſongs of joy and triumph. But he rendered himſelf deſervedly ridiculous

culous by being ſo exceſſively elated with the thoughts of purſuing one that retired of his own accord, and for having once got the better of him, whom he uſed to call Sylla's fugitive, and his forces the remainder of the ſcattered troops of Carbo.

The generoſity of Sertorius ſignally appeared when he appointed a ſenate, and called together all the Roman ſenators who fled from Rome, and came and reſided with him. Out of theſe he choſe Prætors and Quæſtors, and ſettled his government according to the Roman laws and conſtitutions. And though he made uſe of the arms, riches, and cities of the Spaniards, yet he would never permit them ſo much as to mention any thing of government, but ſet Roman officers and commanders over them, whereby he ſhowed that his deſign was to reſtore liberty to the Romans, and not to increaſe the power of the Spaniards againſt them. For he was a ſincere lover of his country, and had a great deſire to return home; but in his adverſe fortune he ſhowed an undaunted courage, and never made any mean ſubmiſſions to his enemies; and when he was in proſperity, and in the height of his victories, he ſent word to Metellus and Pompey, that he was ready to lay down his arms, and live a private life, if he were allowed to return home, declaring, that he had rather be the meaneſt citizen in Rome, than ſupreme commander of the whole world in any place beſides. It is thought that his great deſire to reviſit his country was not a little increaſed by the reſpect which he had for his mother, by whom he was brought up in his tender years, after the death of his father, and upon whom he had placed his entire affection: and after his friends had ſent for him into Spain to be their General, as ſoon as he heard of his mother's death, he almoſt deſtroyed himſelf with grief; for he lay ſeven days together without giving the word to the ſoldiers, or being ſeen by the neareſt of his friends. And when the chief commanders of the army and perſons of the greateſt note came about his tent, they with great difficulty prevailed with him at laſt to come abroad and ſpeak to his ſoldiers,

ſoldiers, and to take upon him the management of affairs, which were in a proſperous condition. By all this it appears that he was of a mild and compaſſionate temper, and naturally inclined to eaſe and repoſe, and that he accepted of the command of an army contrary to his own diſpoſition; for not being able to live in ſafety, he was forced by his enemies to take arms, and to have recourſe to war for the neceſſary defence of his perſon.

His treaty with Mithridates is a ſtrong proof of his magnanimity. That Prince, after he had been overthrown by Sylla, had recovered himſelf, and like a vigorous wreſtler deſirous to try another fall, was again endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh his power in Aſia. At this time the great fame of Sertorius was frequently celebrated in all places; and the merchants who ſailed from the weſtern parts of Europe to Aſia, entertained the Aſiaticks and the inhabitants of Pontus with accounts of Sertorius's exploits as with a kind of foreign merchandize which they imported. Mithridates was earneſtly deſirous to ſend an embaſſy to him, being alſo highly encouraged to it by his boaſting flatterers, who comparing Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and Sertorius to Hannibal, perſuaded him that the Romans would never be able to make any conſiderable reſiſtance againſt ſuch a genius and ſuch great power, when they ſhould be attacked at once by the ableſt General and the greateſt King in the univerſe. Mithridates therefore ſent his ambaſſadors into Spain, with letters to Sertorius, in which he offered to ſupport him with money and ſhips to enable him to continue the war, provided Sertorius would ſecure to him the poſſeſſion of all he had ſurrendered to the Romans in his treaty with Sylla.

As ſoon as theſe ambaſſadors were arrived, Sertorius aſſembled his council, which he had named the Senate. The reſt entirely approved of the conditions, and were deſirous immediately to accept of the offer, as Mithridates deſired nothing of them but a name, and an empty title to places not in their power to diſpoſe of, in recompence of which he would ſupply them with what they then moſt wanted. But Sertorius would by no means

means agree to it, declaring, that as he was willing that Mithridates ſhould reign over Bithynia and Cappadocia, countries accuſtomed to a monarchical government, and not belonging to Rome, ſo he could never conſent that he ſhould ſeize or detain a province, which the Romans having firſt poſſeſſed by a juſt title were deprived of by him, and which he afterwards loſt in war to Fimbria, and at laſt had quitted upon a treaty of peace with Sylla; for, ſaid he, "It is my duty to "enlarge the Roman dominions by my victories, and "not to encreaſe my own power, by the diminution "of the Roman territories: for a generous man, though "he willingly accepts of victory, when it comes ac- "companied with honour, yet will not even defend him- "ſelf, or ſave his own life, upon terms that are diſ- "honourable."

When this was related to Mithridates, he was ſtruck with admiration, and ſaid to his intimate friends, "What will Sertorius enjoin us to do, when he comes "to be ſeated in the ſenate-houſe in Rome, who at "preſent, when he is driven out as far as the Atlantick "ocean, ſets bounds to our kingdom, and threatens us "with war, if we attempt the recovery of Aſia?" However they came to this agreement, which was ratified by oath, that Mithridates ſhould enjoy the free poſſeſſion of Cappadocia and Bithynia, that Sertorius ſhould ſend him ſoldiers, and a General for his army, and that the King in return ſhould ſupply him with three thouſand talents, and forty ſhips. Marcus Marius a Roman ſenator, who had quitted Rome to follow Sertorius, was ſent General into Aſia, by whoſe conduct when Mithridates had reduced divers of the Aſiatick cities, Marius made his entrance with the rods and axes carried before him, and Mithridates followed in the ſecond place, voluntarily waiting upon him. However ſome of theſe cities he ſet at liberty, and others he freed from taxes, ſignifying to them, "that theſe pri- "vileges were granted to them by the favour of Ser- "torius." By this means Aſia, which had been miſerably tormented by the inſatiableneſs of the publicans,

and

and oppreſſed by the inſolent pride and covetouſneſs of the ſoldiers, was inſpired with hopes, and wiſhed for that change of government which they expected from Sertorius.

But in Spain the ſenators and others of the nobility, who were about Sertorius, and equal to him in rank and dignity, had no ſooner conceived hopes of being able to make head againſt their enemies, and got the better of their fears, but envy immediately and ſenſeleſs jealouſies inflamed their minds againſt Sertorius. Theſe were headed by Perpenna, who being inſolently vain of his noble birth, was ambitious of the ſupreme command. He began with uttering ſeditious diſcourſes in private amongſt his intimate friends. "What evil genius, ſaid "he, hurries us perpetually from worſe to worſe? We "who diſdained, when we were at home, to obey the "dictates of Sylla, who has the dominion both of ſea "and land, are come hither to our deſtruction, ho-"ping to enjoy liberty, where we have made ourſelves "voluntary ſlaves, and are become the contemptible "guards and attendants of the baniſhed Sertorius; "he gives us a name that renders us ridiculous to all "that hear it, calling us the ſenate, though we undergo "the ſame labour, are ſubject to the ſame commands, "and expoſed to the ſame inſolence with the Spaniards "and Luſitanians." By theſe diſcourſes he continually ſeduced them; and many who could not be brought to rebel openly againſt Sertorius, fearing his great power and authority, were prevailed on to endeavour to deſtroy his intereſt ſecretly. For by abuſing the Luſitanians and Spaniards, by inflicting ſevere puniſhments upon them, by raiſing exorbitant taxes, and by pretending that all this was done by the command of Sertorius, they cauſed great troubles, and made many cities revolt: and thoſe who were ſent to mitigate and heal theſe differences, rather exaſperated them, encreaſed the number of his enemies, and left them at their return more obſtinate and rebellious than they found them. This ſo highly incenſed Sertorius, and

cauſed

cauſed ſo great an alteration in his former clemency and humanity, that he behaved with great injuſtice and cruelty towards the ſons of the Spaniards who were educated at Oſca, putting ſome of them to death, and ſelling others.

In the mean time Perpenna having encreaſed the number of his conſpirators, drew in Manlius a chief commander in the army. This Manlius was at that time in love with a boy, and as a proof of his affection diſcovered the whole conſpiracy to him, and preſſed him to neglect his rivals, and reſerve himſelf wholly for him, who was to be a great man very ſoon. The youth having a greater inclination for Aufidius, diſcloſed all to him, which much ſurprized and amazed him; for he was alſo one of the confederacy, but knew not that Manlius was engaged in it; but when the youth began to name Perpenna, Gracinus, and others, who he knew very well were conſpirators, he was very much terrified and aſtoniſhed, and made light of it to the youth, bidding him not regard what Manlius ſaid, who was a vain boaſting fellow. However he went preſently to Perpenna, and giving him notice of the danger they were in, and of the ſhortneſs of their time, deſired him immediately to put their deſigns in execution. When all the confederates had conſented to it, they provided a meſſenger who brought feigned letters to Sertorius, in which he had notice of a victory obtained by one of his lieutenants, and of a great ſlaughter made of his enemies; and as Sertorius, being extremely well pleaſed, was ſacrificing and giving thanks to the gods for his proſperous ſucceſs, Perpenna invited him and thoſe with him (who were all conſpirators) to an entertainment, and being very importunate, prevailed with him to come. At all ſuppers and entertainments where Sertorius was preſent, great order and decency was obſerved; for he would not endure to hear or ſee any thing that was indecent, ſo that their freedom and mirth was always modeſt and inoffenſive.

But

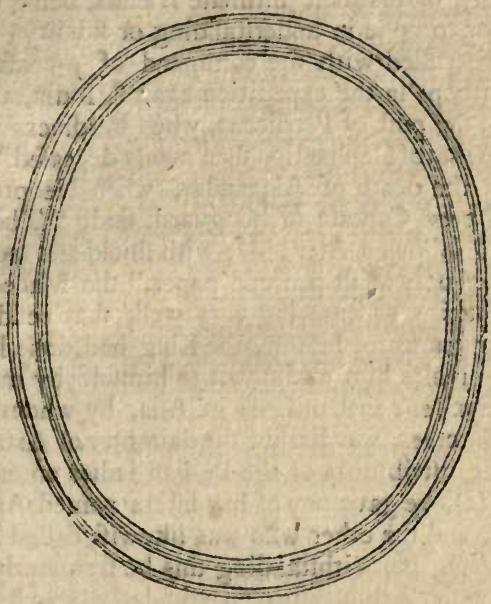
But in the midſt of this entertainment, thoſe who ſought occaſion to quarrrel, fell into very diſſolute diſcourſe, and pretending to be very drunk, behaved in a very inſolent manner, on purpoſe to provoke him. Sertorius being either offended with their ill behaviour, or ſuſpecting their deſign from this unuſual diſreſpect, and from their manner of ſpeaking which was not impetuous enough for men really drunk, changed his poſture and threw himſelf backward on his couch, as one that neither heard nor regarded them. Then Perpenna took a cup of wine, and as he was drinking, let it fall out of his hand, and made a noiſe, which was the ſign agreed on among them. Upon this Antonius who was next to Sertorius, immediately wounded him with his ſword, and whilſt Sertorius turned and ſtrove to get up, Antonius threw himſelf upon his breaſt, and held both his hands, ſo that without being in the leaſt able to defend himſelf, he lay expoſed to the fury of the reſt of the conſpirators, who fell upon him and diſpatched him.

Upon the firſt news of his death, moſt of the Spaniards left the conſpirators, and ſending ambaſſadors to Pompey and Metellus, yielded themſelves up to them. Perpenna attempted to do ſomething with thoſe that remained; but he made ſo ill uſe of Sertorius's arms and preparations for war, that he ſoon made it evident to all, that he underſtood no more how to command, than he knew how to obey. When he came againſt Pompey he was ſoon overthrown, and taken priſoner; neither did he bear this laſt affliction with any dignity; for having Sertorius's papers in his hands he offered to ſhow Pompey letters from perſons of conſular dignity, and of the higheſt quality in Rome, written with their own hands, expreſly to invite Sertorius into Italy, and to let him know what great numbers there were that earneſtly deſired to alter the preſent ſtate of affairs, and to make a change in the government. Upon this occaſion Pompey behaved not like a young man, but as one of a mature and ſolid judgment; whereby

he freed Rome from great fears, and prevented dangerous innovations; for he put all Sertorius's papers together, and burnt them without reading one of them or ſuffering them to be read by any other perſon, and cauſed Perpenna immediately to be put to death, leſt by diſcovering the names of the writers further troubles and revolutions might enſue.

Of the reſt of the conſpirators, ſome were taken and ſlain by the command of Pompey, others fled into Africa, and were attacked by the Moors, who ſlew them with their darts; and in a ſhort time not one of them was left a live, except only Auſidius, the rival of Manlius, who hiding himſelf, or not being much enquired after, died an old man, in an obſcure village in Spain, in extreme poverty, and univerſally hated.

EUMENES.



EUMENES.

DURIS reports that Eumenes the Cardian was the ſon of a poor waggoner in the Thracian Cherſoneſus, but (1) liberally educated, both as to learning and exerciſes. He ſays that while he was but young, Philip paſſing through Cardia, diverted himſelf with ſeeing the exerciſes of the youth of that place, and that as Eumenes diſtinguiſhed himſelf among them by his addreſs and activity, Philip was ſo pleaſed with him, as to take him into his ſervice. But they ſeem to ſpeak more probably, who tell us, that Philip advanced Eumenes for the friendſhip he bore to his father, whoſe gueſt he had formerly been. After the death of Philip, he

(1) There were publick ſchools in all their towns and cities, whither children of all conditions had a privilege of going.

(2) After

he continued in the ſervice of Alexander, with the title of his principal Secretary, but was as highly reſpected by him as any of his moſt intimate friends, being eſteemed inferior to none in underſtanding or fidelity; ſo that he was entruſted with the command of a conſiderable body of troops in the expedition againſt India, and ſucceeded to the poſt of Perdiccas, when Perdiccas was advanced to that of Hephæſtion then newly deceaſed. Wherefore after the death of Alexander, when Neoptolemus, who had been Captain of his guard, ſaid, "That himſelf had followed Alexander with ſhield and ſpear, but "Eumenes only with pen and paper," the Macedonians laughed at him, as knowing very well, that beſide other particular marks of favour, the King had done him the honour to make him a kinſman to himſelf by marriage. For Alexander's firſt miſtreſs in Aſia, by whom he had his ſon Hercules, was Barſine the daughter of Artabazus; and in the diſtribution of the Perſian ladies amongſt his captains (2), he gave one of her ſiſters named Apame to Ptolemy, and the other who was likewiſe called Barſine, to Eumenes. Notwithſtanding this he frequently incurred Alexander's diſpleaſure, particularly once by means of Hephæſtion. For Hephæſtion having aſſigned to Euius a muſician the quarters which the ſervants of Eumenes had before taken for their maſter, Eumenes in a rage went with Mentor (3) to Alexander, and upbraided him aloud, telling him, "That the way to be regarded was to "throw away their arms, and turn muſicians or tragedians." Alexander at firſt took their part, and chid Hephæſtion. But ſoon after he changed his mind, and was angry with Eumenes, thinking that the freedom he had taken was rather intended as an affront to him, than a complaint againſt Hephæſtion. Afterwards, when Nearchus was to be ſent with a fleet into the ocean, Alexander borrowed money of his friends (his own treaſury being exhauſted) and aſked three hundred talents of Eumenes; but

(2) After Alexander had eſpouſed Statira the eldeſt daughter of Darius, and beſtowed the youngeſt named Drypetis on Hephæſtion, the better to conceal the ſcandal of theſe nuptials with barbarians, he perſuaded his principal officers and chief favourites to do the ſame

but he sent a hundred only, pretending that it was not without great difficulty he had raised so much. Alexander neither complained, nor took the money; but gave private orders to set the tent of Eumenes on fire, that he might have an evident proof of the falshood of what he had told him, when his money was carried out. But before that could be done the tent was consumed; and Alexander repented of his orders when it was too late; for all his papers which Eumenes had in his custody, were burnt on that occasion. The gold and silver which was melted down in the fire, was found to be more than a thousand talents. Alexander however took none of it; but he wrote to the several Persian princes and governors, and to his own generals and lieutenants, bidding them send new copies of the papers that were burnt, and ordered them to be delivered to Eumenes.

Some time after, another dispute happened between him and Hephæstion, concerning some present that had been made to one of them; and a great deal of reproachful language passed on the occasion. Notwithstanding this Eumenes still continued in favour, till the death of Hephæstion, which happened soon after. The King being extremely grieved, and presuming that all those who had differed with him in his lifetime, now rejoiced at his death, behaved with great severity towards them, especially towards Eumenes, whom he often upbraided with the quarrels which he had had with Hephæstion, and the reproaches he had uttered against him. But he being a man of great art and address, endeavoured to make that which had caused his disgrace turn to his advantage by zealously seconding the extreme desire with Alexander expressed to honour the memory of his friend, suggesting divers inventions to do him honour, and contributing very largely and readily towards erecting a monument for him. After Alexander's death, a dispute

same thing, chusing for them eighty virgins out of the most honourable familes in Persia. Quint. Curt. Lib. x.

(3) Mentor was the brother of Memnon, whose widow Barsine was Alexander's mistress.

a diſpute happening between the Phalanx and his more intimate friends, Eumenes, though in his judgment he inclined to the latter, yet in his words and actions ſtood neuter, as if he thought it unbecoming him, who was a ſtranger, to interpoſe in the quarrels of the Macedonians. And when the reſt of Alexander's friends left Babylon, he ſtaid behind, and in a great meaſure pacified the ſoldiers, and diſpoſed them towards an accommodation. When the officers had agreed among themſelves, and quelled the mutiny of the ſoldiers, they ſhared the ſeveral provinces and governments among them; Eumenes was made Governor of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, and all the coaſt upon the Pontic ſea as far as Trapezus, which at that time was not ſubject to the Macedonians (for Ariarathes was King of it) but Leonatus and Antigonus, with a great army, were to put him in poſſeſſion of it. Antigonus who was now grown haughty, and looked on all other men with contempt, took no notice of Perdiccas's letters; but Leonatus with his army came down into Phrygia for the ſervice of Eumenes. However being viſited by Hecatæus the tyrant of the Cardians, and requeſted rather to relieve Antipater and the Macedonians that were beſieged in Lamia, he reſolved upon that expedition, inviting Eumenes to a ſhare in it, and endeavouring to reconcile him to Hecatæus; for there was an hereditary feud between them upon ſome political account; and Eumenes had often declared openly, that Hecatæus was a tyrant, and had exhorted Alexander to reſtore the Cardians to their liberty. Wherefore at this time alſo he declined the expedition propoſed, pretending that he feared leſt Antipater, who already hated him, ſhould, for that reaſon, and to gratify Hecatæus, kill him. Leonatus ſo far believed it as to impart to Eumenes his whole deſign, which, as he publickly gave out, was to aid Antipater, but it was in truth to ſeize the kingdom of Macedon; and he ſhowed him letters from Cleopatra, wherein ſhe invited him to Pella and promiſed to marry him. But Eumenes, whether he feared Antipater, or whether he deſpaired of receiving any ſervice from Leonatus, whom

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he looked upon as a rash, violent, and unsteady man, stole away from him by night with his whole equipage, which consisted of three hundred horse, and two hundred of his domesticks well armed, and with all his treasure, which amounted to five thousand talents, and fled to Perdiccas, to whom he discovered Leonatus's design, and thereby gained great interest with him, and was made one of his council. Soon after, Perdiccas in person, at the head of a powerful army, conducted Eumenes into Cappadocia, and having taken Ariarathes prisoner, and subdued the whole country, declared him Governor of it. Eumenes immediately disposed of the chief cities to his own friends, and appointed such persons as he himself approved captians of garrisons, judges, and receivers of the revenues, Perdiccas not at all interposing. After this, he departed with Perdiccas, being desirous to show his respect to him, and not thinking it consistent with his interest to be absent from court. But Perdiccas imagining that he should be able of himself to effect what he had been contriving, and considering that the provinces he left behind might stand in need of an active and faithful Governor, dismissed Eumenes when he came into Cilicia, under colour of sending him to his own government, but, in truth, to secure Armenia, which was bordering upon it, and was unsettled through the practices of Neoptolemus. This Neoptolemus was an extremely vain and arrogant man. Eumenes endeavoured to restrain him by persuasion and argument; and perceiving that the Macedonian Phalanx were become very insolent and ungovernable, he contrived to raise a body of horse that might be able to keep them in awe. To this end he granted all manner of immunities, and exemption from taxes, to as many of the people of the country as understood horsemanship. He likewise bought up a great number of horses, which he gave among such of his own men as he most confided in, inflaming the courage of his soldiers by many gifts and honours, and inuring their bodies to service by frequent marches and exercises; so that some of the Macedonians were astonished, and others overjoyed, to see that in so short

a time he had got together no leſs than ſix thouſand three hundred horſe fit for ſervice.

When Craterus and Antipater, having ſubdued Greece, were advanced into Aſia, with an intention to quell the power of Perdiccas, and were reported to deſign an attack upon Cappadocia, Perdiccas being himſelf to march againſt Ptolemy, made Eumenes commander in chief of all the forces of Armenia and Cappadocia; and to that purpoſe he wrote letters, requiring Alcetas and Neoptolemus to be obedient to Eumenes, and giving full commiſſion to Eumenes to manage every thing as he thought fit. Alcetas abſolutely refuſed to ſerve, becauſe his Macedonians (he ſaid) were aſhamed to fight againſt Antipater, and loved Craterus ſo well, that they were ready to receive him for their commander. On the other hand, it was viſible that Neoptolemus deſigned treachery againſt Eumenes; for when he was ſent for, he refuſed to come, and put himſelf in a poſture of defence. Here Eumenes firſt found the benefit of his own foreſight and contrivance; for his foot being beaten, he routed Neoptolemus with his horſe, and took all his baggage; and cloſely purſuing the phalanx which he had broken and diſordered, he obliged the men to lay down their arms, and take an oath to ſerve under him. Neoptolemus, with ſome few ſtragglers which he collected together, fled to Craterus and Antipater. Eumenes had juſt before received an embaſſy from them, inviting him over to their party, and promiſing to ſecure him in the government he was already poſſeſſed of, to add others to it, and to encreaſe the number of his forces, provided of an enemy he would become a friend to Antipater, and of a friend would not become an enemy to Craterus. To which Eumenes replied, "That he could not ſo ſuddenly be "reconciled to his old enemy Antipater, eſpecially ſince "he ſaw him uſe his friends like enemies; but that he was "ready to reconcile Craterus to Perdiccas upon juſt and "equitable terms; but that if he attacked Perdiccas, "he was reſolved to aſſiſt the injured to his laſt breath, "and would rather loſe his life than betray his word."

Antipater

Antipater receiving this answer, determined to consider of the whole affair at leisure. In the mean time Neoptolemus arrived, and acquainted them with the ill success of the battle, and requested both of them to assist him, but especially Craterus, because the Macedonians loved him so exceedingly, that if they saw but his hat, or heard his voice, they would all arm and follow him. And indeed Craterus had a great reputation among them, and the soldiers, after Alexander's death, were extremely fond of him, remembering how often he had for their sakes incurred Alexander's displeasure, by restraining him from following the Persian fashions, to which he very much inclined, and by defending the customs of his country, when through pride and delicacy they began to be disregarded. Craterus therefore sent Antipater into Cilicia, and himself and Neoptolemus marched with a great army against Eumenes, expecting to come upon him unawares, and to find his army disordered with revelling after the late victory. Now that Eumenes should suspect his coming, and be prepared to receive him, is indeed a greater argument of his vigilance than of his sagacity: but that he should contrive both to conceal from his enemies the posture he was in, and to prevent his own men from discovering whom they were to fight with, so as to make them serve against Craterus himself, without knowing that he commanded the enemy; this seems an instance of art and address peculiar to himself. He gave out therefore, that Neoptolemus and Pigris with some Cappadocian and Paphlagonian horse were coming against him. The night he intended to decamp, and march to meet them, he fell into a sound sleep, and had this extraordinary dream: he fancied he saw two Alexanders ready to engage, each commanding his respective phalanx, the one assisted by Minerva, the other by Ceres; and that after a hot dispute, he on whose side Minerva appeared was beaten; and Ceres gathering some corn, wove it into a crown for the victor. This vision Eumenes interpreted as boding success to himself, who was to fight for a fruitful country, the whole being sowed with corn, and the fields

fields covered so thick with it, that they made an appearance suitable to a state of profound peace. And he was further confirmed in his opinion, when he understood that the word which Neoptolemus and Craterus had given to the soldiers was Minerva and Alexander; the word therefore which he gave to his men was Ceres and Alexander; and he ordered them to make garlands for themselves, and to dress their arms with wreaths of corn. He was strongly tempted to discover to his captains and officers whom they were to engage with, and not to conceal a secret of such moment in his own breast alone; yet he kept to his first resolution, and ventured to run the hazard of his own judgment. When he came to give battle, he would not trust any Macedonian to engage Craterus, but appointed two troops of foreign horse, commanded by Pharnabazus son to Artabazus, and Phœnix of Tenedos, with orders to charge as soon as ever they saw the enemy, without giving them leisure to speak or retire, or receiving any message from them; for he exceedingly feared the Macedonians, lest, knowing Craterus, they should go over to his side. He himself, with three hundred of his best horse, led the right wing against Neoptolemus. When the enemy having past a little hill, came in view, and Eumenes's men charged with more than ordinary impetuosity, Craterus was amazed, and severely reproached Neoptolemus for deceiving him with hopes that the Macedonians would revolt; however he exhorted his officers to behave with resolution, and rode forward to the attack. The first engagement was very fierce, and the spears being soon broke to pieces, they came to close fighting with their swords. And here Craterus did by no means dishonour Alexander, but slew several of his enemies, and repulsed many that assaulted him; but at last he received a wound in his side from a Thracian, and fell from his horse. Being down, many not knowing him went over him; but Gorgias, one of Eumenes's captains, knew him, and alighting from his horse, guarded his body, which was now in a weak condition, and even in the very agony of death. In the mean time

time Neoptolemus and Eumenes were engaged, who being inveterate and mortal enemies, fought for one another, though they did not meet in the two firſt charges; however in the third they met, and drawing their ſwords, with loud ſhouts immediately attacked each other. Their horſes running full ſpeed ſtruck againſt each other in front, like two gallies; then their riders quitting their bridles, took mutual hold, each ſtriving to pull off the helmet of his enemy, and to looſen his breaſtplate. While they were thus ſtripping one another, their horſes went from under them, and they fell together to the ground, both of them keeping their hold, and ſtruggling like wreſtlers. Neoptolemus beginning to riſe firſt, Eumenes wounded him in the ham, and got upon his feet before him. Neoptolemus, who had one of his legs diſabled by the wound in his ham, reſted upon his knee, and fought in that poſture with a great deal of courage, but without being able to hurt his enemy mortally; at laſt receiving a wound in his neck, he grew faint, and dropt down. Eumenes inſtantly fell upon him, began to ſtrip him of his armour, and bitterly reviled him, and was ſo tranſported by his rage and inveterate malice againſt him, that he perceived not that his ſword was ſtill in his hand, ſo that Neoptolemus wounded him in the groin as he lay upon him. But indeed the wound rather frighted than hurt him, being the laſt weak effort of a dying perſon. Having ſtript the dead body, ill as he was of the wounds he had received in his legs and arms, he mounted his horſe again, and made towards the left wing of his army, which he ſuppoſed to be ſtill engaged. Hearing of the death of Craterus, he rode up to him, and finding there was yet ſome life in him, he alighted from his horſe and wept; and giving him his right hand, inveighed bitterly againſt Neoptolemus, and lamented both Craterus's misfortune, and his own hard fate, that he ſhould be neceſſitated to fight againſt an old friend and acquaintance, and either to do or ſuffer ſo great an injury.

This victory Eumenes obtained about ten days after the former, and got great reputation from it both for his

his conduct and his valour. But on the contrary, it created him great envy both among his allies, and his enemies, that he, a ſtranger and a foreigner, ſhould employ the forces and arms of Macedon to cut off one of the braveſt and moſt conſiderable men of that nation. Had the news of this defeat come time enough to Perdiccas, he would doubtleſs have been the greateſt of all the Macedonians; but he being ſlain in a mutiny in Egypt two days before the news arrived, the Macedonians in a rage decreed Eumenes's death, giving joint commiſſion to Antigonus and Antipater to proſecute the war againſt him. In the mean time Eumenes meeting with the King's ſtud, which were feeding upon mount Ida, he took as many as he had occaſion for, and ſent bills of diſcharge for them to thoſe who had the care of them. At this Antipater laughed, and ſaid "he admired the wari-
"neſs of the man, who ſeemed to think that an account of
"the King's effects would either be expected from him, or
"given to him." Eumenes had deſigned to engage in the plains of Lydia near Sardis, both becauſe his chief ſtrength conſiſted in his cavalry, and becauſe he was deſirous to let Cleopatra ſee how powerful he was. But at the particular requeſt of that Princeſs, who was afraid leſt if he ſhould wait there for the enemy, it might give ſome umbrage to Antipater, and make him accuſe her of maintaining a correſpondence with him, he marched into the upper Phrygia, and wintered at Celœnœ. There Alcetas, Polemon, and Docimus entered into a diſpute with him about the command of the army; whereupon he ſaid,
"This makes good that obſervation; Every one thinks of
"advancing himſelf, but no one thinks on the danger he
"runs of ruining all, and himſelf among the reſt.

He had promiſed his ſoldiers that they ſhould receive their pay within three days; but for want of money to make good his promiſe, he ſold them all the farms and caſtles in the country, together with the men and cattle that were upon them. Every Captain or officer that had bought a caſtle, took ſome battering engines with which he was furniſhed by Eumenes, and went to take poſſeſſion by force; and when he had taken it he divided

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the ſpoil among his company, proportionably to every man's arrears. Hereby Eumenes came again to be beloved; ſo that when letters were found thrown about the camp by the enemy, promiſing a hundred talents, beſides great honours, to any one that ſhould kill Eumenes, the Macedonians were extremely offended, and made an order that from that time a thouſand of their beſt men ſhould continually guard his perſon, and keep ſtrict watch about him by night in their turns. This order was chearfully obeyed, and they gladly received of Eumenes ſuch honours as princes uſe to conſer upon their favourites: for he had a right to beſtow purple hats and cloaks, which among the Macedonians were reckoned the moſt honourable preſents the King could give.

Proſperity elevates men of little minds, and external grandeur throws a falſe glare of dignity around them which may dazzle the eyes of ſuperficial obſervers; but the truly noble and ſteady mind manifeſts its native greatneſs moſt in difficulties and misfortunes. And thus it was with Eumenes. For having by the treachery of one of his own officers loſt the field to Antigonus at Orcyni in Cappadocia, he gave the traitor no opportunity to eſcape to the enemy, but immediately ſeized and hanged him. Then in his flight taking a contrary courſe to his purſuers, he ſtole by them unawares, returned to the place where the battle had been fought, and encamped. There he gathered up the dead bodies, and burnt them with the wood taken from the doors in the neighbouring villages. The officers were burnt apart from the common ſoldiers; and after he had raiſed over them heaps of earth, which ſerved as ſepulchral monuments, he decamped, and continued his march; ſo that Antigonus, who came thither ſoon after, was aſtoniſhed at his great courage and firm reſolution.

After this as he was upon his march, the baggage of Antigonus fell in his way, and he might eaſily have taken many captives, both ſlaves and freemen, and much wealth collected from the ſpoils of ſo many battles

tles and incurſions; but he feared leſt his men, overladen with booty, might become unfit for flight, impatient of fatigue, and unwilling to hold out ſo long time as he deſigned; for upon this he laid the main ſtreſs of his hopes, that Antigonus would at laſt be weary of purſuing him and turn his courſe another way. But then conſidering it would be extremely difficult to reſtrain the Macedonians from plunder, when it ſeemed to offer itſelf, he ordered his troops to halt, and bait their horſes, and then attack the enemy. In the mean time he ſent privately to Menander, who had care of the enemies baggage, pretending a concern for him upon the ſcore of former friendſhip and acquaintance, and therefore adviſing him to quit the plain, and ſecure himſelf upon the ſide of a neighbouring hill, where the horſe might not be able to hem him in. When Menander, ſenſible of his danger, had packed up the baggage and removed to the hill, Eumenes openly ſent his ſcouts to diſcover the enemy's poſture, and commanded his men to arm, and bridle their horſes, as deſigning immediately to give battle. But when the ſcouts returned with news that Menander had ſecured himſelf in ſo difficult a poſt, that it was impoſſible to take him, Eumenes pretending to be much concerned at the diſappointment drew off his men another way. It is ſaid, that when Menander reported this afterwards to Antigonus, and the Macedonians commended Eumenes, imputing it to his ſingular good-nature, that having it in his power to make ſlaves of their children, and raviſh their wives, he forbore and, ſpared them all, Antigonus replied, "he did not regard us, my friends, "but himſelf being loth to wear ſo many ſhackles, when "he deſigned to fly." From that time Eumenes daily flying, and wandering about, perſuaded many of his ſoldiers to diſband, whether out of kindneſs to them, or unwillingneſs to lead about ſuch a body of men, as were too few to engage, and too many to fly undiſcovered. Being come to the citadel of Nora, in the confines

(4) There were a hundred who left him upon this occaſion, ſo that he had not above ſix hundred of his men who remained with

confines of Lycanoia and Cappadocia, with five hundred horſe and two hundred foot, he again diſmiſt as many of his friends as deſired it, (4) through fear either of the ſtraitneſs of the place, or want of proviſions; and embracing them with all demonſtrations of kindneſs, he gave them leave to depart. Antigonus, when he came before this fort, deſired to have an interview with Eumenes before the ſiege; but he anſwered, "That Antigonus had many "friends who might command in his room, if any miſ- "fortune ſhould befal him; but they whoſe defence he "had undertaken, had no body to ſubſtitute in his place; "wherefore if Antigonus deſired to treat with him, he "ſhould firſt ſend hoſtages." Antigonus inſiſted, that Eumenes ſhould firſt come to him, he being the greater man; but Eumenes replied, "While I am able to wield a "ſword, I ſhall think no man greater than myſelf." However, when, according to Eumenes's demand, Antigonus had ſent his nephew Ptolemy to the fort, Eumenes went out to him, and they mutually embraced with great civility and friendſhip, as having formerly been very intimate. After a long converſation, when Eumenes made no mention of his own pardon and ſecurity, but demanded to be confirmed in his ſeveral governments, and withal to be honourably rewarded for his ſervice, all that were preſent were aſtoniſhed at his courage and ſpirit; and many others of the Macedonians flocked to ſee what ſort of perſon Eumenes was: for ſince the death of Craterus, no man had been ſo much talked of in the army. But Antigonus being afraid for him, leſt he might ſuffer ſome violence, firſt commanded the ſoldiers to keep off, calling out, and ordering thoſe to be driven back with ſtones that continued to preſs forward, notwithſtanding his commands to the contrary. At laſt receiving Eumenes into his arms, and keeping off the crowd with his guards, he not without great difficulty returned him ſafe into the fort.

Antigonus having built a wall round Nora, left a force ſufficient to carry on the ſiege, and drew off the reſt of his

with him; but they were all determined to ſhare in his danger, and to die with him.

(5) This

his army. The fort was abundantly ſtored with corn, water, and ſalt, but in want of every thing elſe fit to eat, ſo that Eumenes was forced to feed upon dry bread; and yet even with that food he kept a chearful table for his friends, inviting them ſeverally in their turns, and ſeaſoning his entertainment with a kind and agreeable behaviour. His countenance was graceful and pleaſing; he did not look like a rough ſoldier, harraſſed and worn out by the fatigues of war, but was ſmooth and florid, and his ſhape was as delicate as if his limbs had been carved by art in the moſt accurate proportions. He had not a great force of eloquence, but his manner of ſpeaking was mild and perſuaſive, as appears by ſome of his letters which are ſtill extant.

The greateſt diſtreſs of the beſieged was the ſtraitneſs of the place they were in, the houſes being very ſmall, and the whole place but two furlongs in compaſs; ſo that both they and their horſes fed without exerciſe. Wherefore not only to prevent the languor and ſluggiſhneſs that both might contract by that inactive way of life, but to have them in a condition to fly, if occaſion required, he aſſigned a room fourteen cubits long (the largeſt in all the fort) for the men to walk in, directing them to begin their walk gently, and gradually to mend their pace. And for the horſes, he tied them to the roof of the ſtable with ſtrong halters, which being faſtened about their necks, he with a pully gently raiſed them, till ſtanding upon the ground with their hind feet, they could juſt reach it with the ends of their fore-feet. In this poſture the grooms plied them with whips and noiſe; and the horſes being thus irritated, furiouſly kicked with their hind feet, and ſtrained themſelves to the utmoſt labouring to ſet their fore-feet upon the ground; and thus their whole body was exerciſed, till they were all in a foam. After this exerciſe, which was very proper to give them ſtrength

(5) This was Hieronymus of Cardia, a countryman of Eumenes, and an hiſtorian of great reputation. He wrote a hiſtory of thoſe princes

ſtrength and ſpeed, and to render their limbs pliant and eaſy, he gave them their corn boiled, that they might ſooner diſpatch, and better digeſt it.

The ſiege continuing long, Antigonus received advice that Antipater was dead in Macedonia, and that affairs were embroiled by the differences between Caſſander and Polyperchon; whereupon he conceived no mean hopes, but purpoſed to make himſelf maſter of all; in order to which he earneſtly deſired to bring Eumenes over to his intereſt, that he might have his advice and aſſiſtance. Wherefore he ſent (5) Hieronymus with terms of peace, and the form of an oath which was to be taken by Eumenes. Eumenes firſt corrected part of it, and then referred himſelf to the Macedonians themſelves that beſieged him, to be judged by them, which of the two forms was the moſt equitable. Antigonus in the beginning of his had ſlightly mentioned the royal family, but the ſequel related to himſelf alone: whereas Eumenes, in the correction he had made, named Olympias in the firſt place, and the princes her children, and did not ſwear "to be true to Antigo-"nus only, and to have the ſame friends and enemies with "him," as contained in the oath drawn up by Antigonus, but "to be true to Olympias and her children, and to be a "friend to their friends, and an enemy to their enemies. This form the Macedonians thinking the more reaſonable, ſwore Eumenes accordingly, and raiſed the ſiege, ſending alſo to Antigonus for him to ſwear in the ſame terms with Eumenes. Eumenes then returned all the hoſtages of the Cappadocians which he had in Nora, and received in exchange horſes, tents, and beaſts of carriage. When this was done, he endeavoured to recall as many as he could of thoſe ſoldiers who had fled after his defeat, and were wandering up and down the country. Of theſe he ſoon got together a body of near a thouſand horſe, (6) and retired with them in great haſte, being ſtill jealous of Antigonus, and that with

princes who divided Alexander's dominions between them, and of their ſucceſſors.

(6) Diodorus Siculus ſays 2000.

(7) Diodorus

with very good reaſon; for he had not only ordered him to be beſieged again, but ſent a very ſharp anſwer to the Macedonians, for admitting the amendments he had made in the oath.

Whilſt Eumenes was in his flight, he received letters from ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable perſons in Macedonia, who were jealous of the growing power of Antigonus. Olympias too invited him thither, to take upon him the charge of Alexander's little ſon, whoſe enemies were plotting his deſtruction. He received other letters from Polyperchon and King Philip, requiring him to make war againſt Antigonus with all the forces in Cappadocia, and impowering him to take five hundred talents out of the royal treaſure at Quinda, in order to re-eſtabliſh his own affairs, and as much more as ſhould be thought neceſſary to carry on the war. They wrote alſo to the ſame effect to Antigenes and Teutamus, the chief officers of the Argyraſpides. They having received the letters, treated Eumenes outwardly with great reſpect and kindneſs; but it was apparent enough they were full of envy and emulation, and thought it an affront to be commanded by him. Eumenes removed their envy, by refuſing to accept the money, as if he had not needed it; but as for their jealouſy and ambition, which made them refuſe to obey him, though they were themſelves very unfit to command, the only remedy he had to apply to that evil was the ſpirit of ſuperſtition, with which he endeavoured to poſſeſs them. He pretended that Alexander had appeared to him in a dream, and ſhowed him a regal pavilion richly furniſhed, with a throne in it, and told him, (7) "if they would ſit "in council there, he himſelf would be preſent, and "proſper all the conſultations and enterprizes which they "ſhould begin in his name." Antigenes and Teutamus were eaſily

(7) Diodorus Siculus has given us a full relation of this particular; and there ſeems to be ſomething wanting here in the account Plutarch is giving of this viſion; for in that author Eumenes adds, "For "this reaſon I am of opinion that "we take out of the royal treaſury "a ſum ſufficient to make a throne "of gold; that upon this throne we "ſet the diadem, the ſcepter, and "crown, and all the other regal ornaments,

eaſily prevailed upon to believe this, being no more diſpoſed to ſit in council in his tent, than he was to enter under the roof of another. Wherefore they erected a royal tent, and a throne, which they called Alexander's; and there they met to conſult upon all affairs of moment.

Afterwards they advanced into the upper country, and in their march met with Peuceſtas, a friend of Eumenes, and with ſome other governors of the provinces, who joined forces with them, and greatly encouraged the Macedonians with the number and appearance of their men. But as theſe new-comers were grown very mutinous and ungovernable, through the licentiouſneſs in which they had indulged themſelves ever ſince the death of Alexander, and were exceedingly diſſolute in their way of living, and beſides had brought with them a ſpirit of arrogance and tyranny, natural to the barbarians, they ſoon grew unconverſable and rude to one another. But they careſſed and flattered the Macedonians beyond meaſure, and furniſhed them with money for feaſts and ſacrifices, ſo that in a ſhort time the camp grew to be a place of intemperance and debauch; and the ſoldiers ſeemed to have erected themſelves into a ſort of popular ſtate, where offices were to be obtained by cabal and bribery, as in a real commonwealth. Eumenes perceiving that theſe commanders deſpiſed one another, but that all of them ſtood in fear of him, and ſought an opportunity to kill him, pretended to be in want of money, and borrowed many talents, of thoſe eſpecially who moſt hated him, to make them both confide in him, and forbear all violence towards him for fear of loſing their own money. Thus his enemies eſtates were the guard of his

" naments belonging to that Prince; " that every morning all the com- " manders offer him a ſacrifice; " that they aſſemble in council " near the throne, and that the " orders be iſſued in his name, as " if he was ſtill living, and pro- " viding for the welfare and pro- " perity of his kingdom." But Plutarch does not make Eumenes give this advice: But leaves Antigenes and Teutamus to come into it by way of conſequence.

his perſon, and by receiving money, he purchaſed ſafety, for which other men uſe to give it.

The Macedonians, while there was no appearance of danger, made all their court to thoſe that treated and bribed them; and they had their guards, and affected to appear as Generals. But when Antigonus came upon them with a great army, and their affairs ſeemed to call out for a real General, then not only the common ſoldiers caſt their eyes upon Eumenes, but even their leaders, who in times of peace and luxury had aſſumed ſo much ſtate and grandeur, all ſubmitted to him, and quietly poſted themſelves as he appointed them. And when Antigonus attempted to paſs the river Paſitigris, not one of thoſe officers who had been appointed by Eumenes to guard the paſs, was even aware of his march; Eumenes only met and encountered him, ſlew as many of his men as filled up the river with their carcaſſes, and took four thouſand of them priſoners. And when Eumenes was ſick, then eſpecially the Macedonians diſcovered that in their judgment, though others could entertain them ſplendidly, he alone knew how to fight and lead an army. For Peuceſtas having made a magnificent entertainment in Perſia, and given each of the ſoldiers a ſheep wherewith to ſacrifice, flattered himſelf that he ſhould have the greateſt authority among them. But ſoon after when the army was upon the march in queſt of the enemy, Eumenes fell ſo dangerouſly ill, that he was forced to be carried in a litter at ſome diſtance in the rear, that his reſt might not be diſturbed by any noiſe. When they were a little advanced, they all on a ſudden perceived the enemy, who had paſſed the hills that lay between them, and were marching down into the plain. As ſoon

(8) I wonder Plutarch has omitted in this place a circumſtance related by Diodorus. After the two armies were ſeparated without coming to action, they encamped about three furlongs diſtance from each other, having a river and ſome ditches between them. And as they lay under great inconveniences in a country that had been exhauſted by the two armies, Antigonus ſent his ambaſſadors to the Satrapæ and Macedonians in the army of Eumenes, to perſuade them to quit Eumenes, and come over to him, exhorting them

ſoon as they ſaw the brightneſs of their golden armour which glittered in the ſun as they marched down the hill, the elephants with their caſtles on their backs, and the men dreſſed in purple (as their manner was when they were going to give battle) the front halted, and called out for Eumenes, declaring "that they would not advance "any further unleſs he were at the head of them." At the ſame time they grounded their arms, gave the word among themſelves to ſtand, and required their officers not to ſtir or expoſe the troops till Eumenes was come up to command them.

News of this being brought to Eumenes, he haſtened them that carried his litter, and opening the curtains on both ſides, he put on a chearful countenance, and held his hand out to the ſoldiers. As ſoon as they ſaw him, they ſaluted him in the Macedonian language, and took up their ſhields, and ſtriking them with their pikes, gave a great ſhout, and challenged the enemy to come on, as if they were afraid of nothing now they had a General to conduct them. But Antigonus underſtanding by ſome priſoners he had taken, that Eumenes was ſick, and was obliged to be carried in a litter behind the rear of the army, preſumed it would be no hard matter to defeat the reſt while he was indiſpoſed. Wherefore he made the greater haſte to come up with them, and engage. But being come ſo near, as to diſcover how the enemy was drawn up, he was aſtoniſhed, and pauſed for ſome time; at laſt he ſaw the litter as they were carrying it from one wing of the army to the other, and (as his manner was) laughing aloud, he ſaid to his friends, "That litter there, it ſeems, is the thing that "offers us battle;" but he immediately ſounded a retreat and encamped (8).

The

them to it by many magnificent promiſes. But the Macedonians rejected theſe offers with indignation, and threatened the ambaſſadors; whereupon Eumenes, after he had commended them for their fidelity, related to them this ancient fable: "A lion once falling in love with "a young damſel, demanded her "in marriage of her father. The "father anſwered that he looked "on ſuch an alliance as a great "honour to his family, but ſtood "in fear of his claws and teeth, "leſt upon any trifling diſpute that "might happen between them af-

The Macedonians were no sooner recovered out of their fright, but they returned to their former mutinous practices and insolent behaviour to their commanders. They dispersed themselves through the whole provinces of the Gabeni, where they took up their winter quarters, and were scattered in such a manner, that the front was near a thousand furlongs distant from the rear. When Antigonus was informed of this, he immediately marched towards them, taking the shortest way, though the country through which he was to pass was very rugged and difficult and destitute of water; but he hoped that if he should surprize them thus scattered in their winter quarters, the officers would find it a difficult matter to draw the troops together, so as to be able to make head against him. But when he entered this uninhabited country, where the winds were bleak and boisterous, and the frosts severe, he was very much checked in his march, and his men exceedingly tired. The only relief in this case was making continual fires, whereby his enemies got notice of his coming. For the barbarians who dwelt on the mountains bordering upon the desart, amazed at the multitude of fires they saw, sent messengers upon dromedaries, to acquaint Peucestas with it. He being astonished, and finding the rest

" ter they were married he might " exercise them a little too hastily " upon his daughter. To remove " this objection the amorous lion " caused both his nails and teeth " to be drawn; upon which, the " father took a cudgel, and soon " got rid of his enemy." This, continued he, " is the very thing aimed " at by Antigonus, who makes " you large promises till he is be- " come master of your forces, and " then he will make you feel his " teeth and claws." A few days after this, Eumenes being informed by some deserters, that Antigonus intended to decamp the night following at the second watch, immediately apprehended that he designed to remove into the province of the Gabeni, a fruitful country capable of subsisting a numerous army; and besides very safe and commodious for the troops, by reason of the many rivers and hollow ways that crossed it; wherefore he resolved to be beforehand with him. To this end he hired some mercenary soldiers to desert to Antigonus, and tell him that Eumenes had laid a design to attack him in his entrenchments as soon as it grew dark. At the same time he caused his baggage to move, and ordered his troops as soon as they had refreshed themselves to decamp. Antigonus being informed by these deserters, that Eumenes intended to attack him, kept his men in a condition to

reſt in no leſs conſternation, reſolved to fly, and collect what men he could by the way. But Eumenes delivered him from his great fear and anxiety, undertaking to ſtop the enemy's career, in ſuch a manner, that they ſhould arrive three days later than they were expected. Having thus encouraged them, he immediately diſpatched expreſſes to all the officers, to draw the men out of their winter-quarters, and muſter them with ſpeed. In the mean time, he himſelf with ſome of the chief officers rode out, and made choice of an eminence which was within view of ſuch as travelled the deſart; this he quartered out, and commanded many fires at proper intervals, to be made in it, that they who beheld them at a diſtance might take it for a real camp. When Antigonus ſaw the fires upon the hill he was extremely afflicted and diſpirited, ſuppoſing that his enemies had been long advertiſed of his march, and were prepared to receive him. Wherefore leſt his army, now tired out with their march, ſhould be forced immediately to encounter with men who had been well refreſhed in their winter quarters, and were ready for battle, he quitted the near way, and marched ſlowly through the towns and villages, to refreſh his troops. But meeting with no ſuch ſkirmiſhes as are uſual when two armies lie near one another, and being aſſured by the people of

to receive him, whilſt Eumenes proceeded on his march. Antigonus was ſoon informed by his ſcouts that Eumenes was decamped, and though he perceived that he was over-reached by his enemy, yet he continued in his firſt reſolution, raiſed his camp, and made ſuch haſte, that his motion looked more like a purſuit than a march. But conſidering that it was impoſſible for him to come up with his whole army, and overtake Eumenes, who at leaſt had got the ſtart of him by two watches, he left his foot under the command of Pithon, and proceeded full ſpeed at the head of his cavalry, ſo that by day-break he came up with the enemy's rear, as they were marching down a hill upon the top of which he halted. Eumenes, upon ſight of the cavalry, concluded that the whole army was preſent, and drew up his forces in order of battle. Thus Antigonus deceived Eumenes in his turn; for he hindered him from continuing his march till he was joined by his infantry. After this both armies engaged, and the action which was very ſharp, was likewiſe remarkable for the many turns and extraordinary events, which well deſerved to be deſcribed as they are by Diodorus.

of the country, that no army had been ſeen, but only continual fires in that place, he concluded he had been outwitted by a ſtratagem of Eumenes, and being very much troubled advanced towards him, reſolving immediately to give battle (9). By this time the greateſt part of the forces were come together; and admiring the great conduct and prudence of Eumenes, they declared him ſole commander of the whole army. Antigenes and Teutamus, captains of the Argyraſpides, being very much offended at this, and envying Eumenes, formed a conſpiracy againſt him; and aſſembling the greater part of the governors of the provinces and the chief officers, they conſulted when and how they ſhould deſtroy him. When they had unanimouſly agreed to make uſe of his ſervice in the next battle, and immediately afterwards to kill him, Eudamus the commander of the elephants, and Phædimus, gave Eumenes private advice of this deſign, not out of kindneſs or good-will to him, but leſt they ſhould loſe the money they had lent him. Eumenes having commended them, retired to his tent, and told his friends that his condition was like that of a man expoſed to wild beaſts in a publick ſpectacle. He then made his will, and deſtroyed and tore all his letters, leſt his correſpondents after his death ſhould be queſtioned or puniſhed for the intelligence they had given him. Having thus diſpoſed his affairs, he thought of letting the enemy win the battle, or of flying through Media and Armenia, and ſeizing Cappadocia; but he came to no reſolution while his friends ſtayed with him. After revolving divers things in his mind, which his changeable fortune made unſteady and fickle, (1) he at laſt drew up his men, and encouraged the Greeks and barbarians;

(9) Whilſt Eumenes waited in his camp till all his forces were come up to join him, Antigonus was informed that his elephants were on the march, and that they were not far from the deſart; wherefore he detached a party of two thouſand horſe, and his light-armed foot to intercept them. But Eumenes foreſeeing this, and concluding that Antigonus would have ſome ſuch deſign, had likewiſe made a detachment on his part of fifteen hundred horſe and two thouſand foot for their ſecurity. This detachment came up juſt as Antigonus's men had fallen upon the convoy, and almoſt defeated

barbarians; as for the Argyraſpides, they encouraged him, and bid him not doubt of the victory, telling him, that the enemy would never be able to ſtand them. For indeed they were the oldeſt of all the troops that had ſerved under Philip and Alexander, men who had long made a trade of war, and had never been beaten or foiled, though many of them were ſeventy, and none leſs than ſixty years old. Wherefore when they charged Antigonus's men, they cried out, "Villains you fight againſt "your fathers;" and furiouſly falling on, they routed the infantry, killing great numbers of them upon the ſpot, ſo that here Antigonus was totally defeated. But on the other ſide his cavalry had the advantage through the cowardice of Peuceſtas, who behaved moſt ſhamefully in that action; ſo that Antigonus made himſelf maſter of all the baggage; and this was as much owing to his preſence of mind, which never failed him in the greateſt danger, as the ſituation and nature of the place, which was of great advantage to him, for it was a plain open country, of a ſoil neither deep, nor hard under foot, but like the ſea-ſhore, covered with a fine dry ſand, which the treading of ſo many men, and horſes, in the time of the battle, reduced to a ſmall white duſt, that like a cloud of lime darkened the air, ſo that no one could ſee clearly at any diſtance, which made it eaſy for Antigonus to take the baggage unperceived.

After the battle, Teutamus ſent a meſſage to Antigonus to demand the baggage. He anſwered, he would not only reſtore it to the Argyraſpides, but ſerve them further in other things, if they would ſurrender Eumenes. Whereupon the Argyraſpides made a villainous reſolution, to deliver him up alive into the hands of his enemies.

feated it, but this aſſiſtance coming ſeaſonably repelled the enemy, and brought all the elephants off ſafe, to the number of a hundred and fourteen.

(1) The order of battle obſerved by Eumenes, and Antigonus, on this occaſion, ſuch as it is deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus, might poſſibly have deſerved a place here. The army of Antigonus conſiſted of twenty-two thouſand foot, nine thouſand horſe, with ſome Medan cavalry, and ſixty-five elephants. Eumenes had in his army thirty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred foot, ſix thouſand and fifty horſe, and a hundred and fourteen elephants,

(2) How

mies. Accordingly they came to wait upon him, being unſuſpected by him, and appearing as if they only came to guard him as uſual. Some lamented the loſs of the baggage, ſome encouraged him as if he had been victor, and ſome laid the blame of their loſs upon the other officers. At laſt they all fell upon him, and ſeizing his ſword, bound his hands behind him with his own girdle. When Antigonus had ſent Nicanor to receive him, he begged he might be led through the Macedonians, and have liberty to ſpeak to them, not to requeſt, or deprecate any thing, but only to adviſe them what would be for their intereſt. Silence being made, as he ſtood upon a riſing ground, he ſtretched out his hands bound(2), and ſaid, "What trophy, O ye baſeſt of all the Macedonians, could Antigonus have wiſhed for, ſo great as you "yourſelves have erected to him, in delivering up your "General captive into his hands? Was it not diſgrace "enough when you were conquerors, to own yourſelves "conquered, for the ſake only of your baggage, as if "it were wealth, not arms, wherein victory conſiſted? "But muſt your General too be delivered up to redeem "it? As for me, I am vanquiſhed, though a captive. I "have conquered my enemies, and am betrayed by my "fellow-ſoldiers. For you, I adjure you by Jupiter the "protector of armies, and by all the Gods that are the "avengers of perjury, to kill me here with your own "hands; for whether I fall by you or by Antigonus, "you only will be guilty of my death: nor will Antigonus complain; for he deſires not Eumenes alive, but "dead. If ye will with-hold your own hands, releaſe "but one of mine, it ſhall ſuffice to do the work; but "if you dare not truſt me with a ſword, throw me bound "as I am to wild beaſts. This if you do, I ſhall freely "acquit you from the guilt of my death, and declare "you the moſt juſt and faithful of ſoldiers to your General." While Eumenes was thus ſpeaking, the reſt of the ſoldiers wept for grief; but the Argyraſpides with

(2) How could that be, ſince Plutarch tells us juſt before that his hands were tied behind him? Perhaps ſomething is wanting in the text. Juſtin ſays, that his hands were looſened: "Facto "ſilentio,

with a loud voice cried out, "Lead him on, without "liſtening to his impertinences: for the ruin of a vile "vagabond Cherſoneſan, who has waſted the Macedo- "nians in ſo many battles, is not to be regretted; but "the caſe of thoſe brave ſoldiers, who ſerved under Phi- "lip and Alexander, would be deplorable, if after ſo "many tireſome marches, and hazardous engagements, "they ſhould be deprived of the fruits of ſo long ſer- "vice, and be reduced in their old age to beg their "bread. And have not our wives been now three nights "in the power of our enemies?" They then puſhed him on with great violence. But Antigonus fearing the mul- titude, (for nobody was left in the camp) ſent ten of his ſtrongeſt elephants with a conſiderable number of his Medan and Parthyæan ſpearmen to keep off the crowd.

When Eumenes was conducted into the camp, Anti- gonus could not bear to ſee him, by reaſon of their former intimacy and friendſhip; and when they who had him in cuſtody, enquired of Antigonus how he would have him kept? "As I would (ſaid he) an elephant or a "lion." A little after, being moved with com- paſſion, he commanded the heavieſt of his irons to be knocked off, one of his own ſervants was admitted to anoint him, and any of his friends who deſired it, had liberty to viſit him, and bring him what he wanted. An- tigonus deliberated for ſeveral days what to do with him; ſometimes he was was inclined to liſten to the ad- vice and promiſes of Nearchus of Crete, and Demetrius his ſon, who were very earneſt to preſerve Eumenes, whilſt all the reſt were importunate to have him put to death. It is reported, that Eumenes enquired of Ono- marchus his keeper, "why Antigonus, now he had his "enemy in his hands, would not either forthwith diſ- "patch or generouſly releaſe him?" And that Onomar- chus contumelioufly anſwered, "The field had been a "more proper place than this for you to have ſhown "your contempt of death." "And there I did ſhow it," replied

"ſilentio, laxatiſque vinculis, prolatam ſicut catenatus erat, oſtendit "manum. xiv. 4."

(3) He

replied Eumenes; "I appeal to the men that engaged "me; but I could not meet with a man that was too "hard for me." Therefore (rejoined Onomarchus) "now you have found such a man, why do not you sub- "mit quietly to his pleasure?" When Antigonus had at last resolved to kill Eumenes, he commanded his keepers to allow him no more sustenance; so that after he had fasted two or three days, he began to draw near his end: but the camp being on some sudden alarm obliged to remove, an executioner was sent to dispatch him. Antigonus granted his body to his friends, and permitted them to burn it; and having gathered his ashes into a silver urn, he allowed them to send it to his wife and children.

Eumenes being thus put to death, heaven committed the punishment of those officers and soldiers who had betrayed him, to no one but Antigonus himself, who detesting the Argyraspides as wicked and inhuman villains, delivered them up to (3) Ibyrtius, Governor of Arachosia, commanding him to use every method to destroy them, so that not one of them might ever come to Macedon, or even within sight of the Grecian sea.

(3) He did not deliver up Antigenes to be punished by Ibyrtius, for he ordered him to be cast into a dungeon, and burnt alive. He likewise put Eudemus, Celbanus and some others to death.

The Compariſon of SERTORIUS *with* EUMENES.

THESE are the moſt remarkable paſſages that are come to our knowledge, concerning Eumenes and Sertorius. In comparing their lives we may obſerve, that this was common to them both, that being aliens, ſtrangers, and baniſhed men, they continued even to the end of their lives to be commanders of numerous and warlike armies, made up of divers nations. But this was peculiar to Sertorius, that the chief command was by his whole party freely yielded to him, as to the perſon of the greateſt merit; whereas many contended with Eumenes, till by his great exploits he at length obtained the ſuperiority. Thoſe who obeyed Sertorius were deſirous to be commanded by him; but Eumenes commanded thoſe who ſubmitted to him only for their own ſecurity, and becauſe they found themſelves incapable of commanding. The one being a Roman, was the General of the Spaniards and Luſitanians, who for many years before had been under ſubjection to the Roman empire; and the other a Cherſoneſian, was chief commander of the Macedonians, who had ſubdued the world. Sertorius being already in high eſteem for his former ſervices in war, and his great abilities in the ſenate houſe, was advanced to the dignity of a General; whereas Eumenes obtained this honour when he had been only a ſecretary, and had been deſpiſed for the meanneſs of his employment. Nor did he only riſe at firſt from a ſmaller beginning, but afterwards alſo met with greater impediments in his progreſs, and that, not only from thoſe who publickly oppoſed him, but from many others who privately conſpired

spired against him: but it was much otherwise with Sertorius, for not one of his party did ever publickly oppose him; though till at last a few of his acquaintance entered into a private conspiracy to take away his life. Sertorius put an end to his dangers, as often as he was victorious in the field; whereas the victories of Eumenes were the beginning of his calamities, through the malice of those who envied his glory.

Their martial exploits were equal and similar, but their manners and inclinations were different. Eumenes naturally loved war and contention, but Sertorius esteemed peace and tranquillity. When Eumenes might have lived in safety, and with honour, if he would have quietly retired, he persisted in his contentions, and made war with the greatest of the Macedonian princes: but Sertorius, who was unwilling to trouble himself with any publick disturbances, was forced, for the safety of his person, to make war against those who would not suffer him to live in peace. If Eumenes had not violently contended for the superiority, or could have contented himself with the second place, Antigonus would have shown him the greatest kindness and respect; whereas Pompey's friends would never permit Sertorius to live in quiet. The one when in power made war of his own accord; and the other was constrained to accept of the sovereign power to defend himself from his enemies who made war against him. Eumenes was certainly a lover of war, for he preferred his covetousness and ambition before his ease and security; but Sertorius was truly warlike who had recourse to arms only for his own safety.

As to the manner of their deaths, the one died without the least expectation of it; the other when he suspected it daily; this in the first argued a good and generous temper which did not lead him to distrust his friends; but in the other it showed some infirmity of spirit, (4) for Eumenes intended to fly, and was taken.

The

(4) That which Plutarch says here relates to a passage in page 56,

The death of Sertorius dishonoured not his life; he suffered that from his companions which none of his enemies were ever able to perform. The other not being able to deliver himself before his imprisonment, and betraying a desire to live even after his captivity (5), could neither prevent his fate, nor support it honourably; for by meanly supplicating and petitioning, he made his enemy, who pretended only to have power over his body, the master of his mind also.

56, where Eumenes deliberates with himself whether he shall give the victory to the enemy, or retire into Cappadocia.

(5) Where does this appear? no where in Plutarch. On the contrary Eumenes demanded that Antigonus would either put him to death speedily, or release him generously.

AGESI-

AGESILAUS.

ARCHIDAMUS, the ſon of Zeuxidamus, having reigned glorioufly over the Lacedæmonians, left behind him two Sons, Agis the elder, whom he had by (1) Lampido, a woman of a very illuſtrious family, and Ageſilaus, much the younger, whom he had by Eupolia, the daughter of Meliſippidas. As the crown belonged to Agis by law, Ageſilaus, who in all probability was to be but a private man, was educated according to the uſual diſcipline of the country, which was very laborious and ſevere, but ſuch as taught young men how to obey their ſuperiors. Hence Simonides, they ſay, called Sparta the Tamer of men, becauſe

(1) This Lampido was the daughter of Leotychidas, and conſequently the ſiſter of Archidamus to whom ſhe was married, but ſiſter

cauſe by a ſtrictneſs of education, the citizens were inured to obedience to the laws, and rendered patient of ſubjection, as horſes are broke when they are colts. The law did not hold ſo ſtrict a rein on the heirs to the crown: but Ageſilaus, who was a younger brother, was taught by his education to obey before he was advanced to the government. Hence it was that he became the moſt popular of the Spartan Kings, having learned how to temper the grandeur of a royal condition with that humanity and complacency to which he had been formed by his education.

While he was yet a boy, bred up in one of the ſchools or ſocieties of youth, he was beloved by Lyſander, who much admired that ingenuous modeſty which he found in him: for though he was one of the higheſt ſpirit and greateſt bravery of any of his companions, was always ambitious of pre-eminence among them, towards which the impetuous vigour and fervour of his mind irreſiſtibly carried him; yet on the other ſide he was ſo mild and gentle in his nature, that though he would do nothing from fear, yet from modeſty he would do every thing that was enjoined him, being more affected with reproach than afraid of labour.

He was lame of one leg; but this deformity was rendered leſs apparent by the beauty of his perſon when he was young; and the chearfulneſs with which he ſupported his misfortune, and his readineſs to jeſt upon it himſelf made amends for the defect. And indeed it was a ſtrong argument of his love to glory, that notwithſtanding his lameneſs he declined no labour in the purſuit of it. Neither his ſtatue nor picture are extant, as he never allowed them in his life, and utterly forbad them to be made after his death. He is ſaid to have been little, and to have no great dignity of aſpect; but his gaiety and vivacity, his agreeable converſation, and freedom from all moroſeneſs and haughtineſs either in his looks or expreſſions, made him more aimable, even in his old age, than thoſe who were

ſiſter by the father's ſide only.

were young and had the greateſt advantages of perſon. However the Lacedæmonians had a ſort of averſion to people of a low ſtature; and Theophraſtus writes, that the Ephori laid a fine upon Archidamus for marrying a little wife: "for (ſaid they) ſhe will bring us a race of pygmies inſtead of Kings.

In the reign of Agis the elder brother, Alcibiades (being then an exile from Athens) came from Sicily to Sparta. Before he had been long there, he was ſuſpected of a familiarity with Timæa the Queen; ſo that Agis refuſed to own a child of hers, declaring publickly that Alcibiades, and not he, was the father. Nor (if we may believe Duris the hiſtorian) was Timæa much concerned at it, for ſhe uſed to whiſper among her ſervants, that the infant's true name was Alcibiades, not Leotychides. The ſame hiſtorian adds, that Alcibiades himſelf did not ſcruple to ſay, "That he had not ſolicited "Timæa out of a wantonneſs of deſire, but from an ambi-"tion of having his poſterity Kings of Sparta." This affair obliged Alcibiades to leave Sparta for fear of Agis. But the child had not the honours due to a legitimate Prince paid him, nor was he ever owned by Agis, till by his prayers and tears he prevailed with him to declare him his ſon before witneſſes upon his death-bed. But notwithſtanding this, after the death of Agis, Lyſander who had lately conquered the Athenians in a ſea-fight, and had great power in Sparta, promoted Ageſilaus

(z) This explication of Lyſander's is very ingenious, and might appear probable; but in truth it is contrary to the letter of the Oracle which in expreſs terms forbids a lame reign, χωλὴ βασιλέια, and Ageſilaus was lame. Plutarch gives us his opinion of this affair in the compariſon. But that which is ſurprizing is, that neither the Lacedæmonians, nor Plutarch perceived that this Oracle might be taken in a ſenſe quite different from that which was given it by either of the contending parties, and which was firſt diſcovered by M. Le Fevre in his notes upon Juſtin, lib. vi. The Oracle ſays, "Do thou, who haſt "hitherto walked ſowell upon both "thy feet, beware that thou doſt "not fall under a lame reign." The drift of the Oracle was not to exclude Ageſilaus from the throne, becauſe he was lame, nor Leotychides becauſe he was illegitimate, but to warn the Lacedæmonians againſt ſuffering themſelves to be governed by a ſingle perſon. They had hitherto been conſtantly ruled by two kings deſcended from Hercules. Thoſe were the two feet

laus to the kindom, urging Leotychides's baſtardy as a bar to his pretenſions.

Many of the Spartans, charmed with Ageſilaus's virtue, and reckoning it no ſmall advantage to have a King on the throne, who had been educated in the ſame manner as themſelves, and had undergone with them all the ſeverities of the Lacedæmonian diſcipline, were ſoon brought to declare for him.

There was at that time in Sparta a certain ſoothſayer named Diopithes, a man well verſed in ancient prophecies, and held in great eſteem among them for his knowledge of religion and ſkill in divination. He declared that it was not lawful for them to make a lame man King of Lacædemon, citing to that purpoſe the following oracle:

Though proud, O Sparta! *ſubject ſtill to fate*
Beware when ſteps unequal move the ſtate;
Leſt war ruſh on thee doom'd by war to bleed,
And woes on woes an endleſs train ſucceed,

But Lyſander alledged, that if the Spartans were ſcrupulous in obeying the Oracle, they muſt beware of Leotychides; for it was not the limping foot of a King that the gods were offended at (2) but the admiſſion of one who was not a deſcendant of Hercules, which would make the kingdom to halt indeed. (3) Ageſilaus likewiſe added, that the baſtardy of Leotychides was atteſted

feet that ſupported them. But if inſtead of two they ſhould ever come to have no more than one, that is no more than one King, they would be undone; for that power which is mild and gentle whilſt it is participated by two, will grow formidable when united in one perſon, and enable him to tyrannize over them And for this reaſon the Oracle adviſes them to walk ſtill upon both their legs.

(3) All this is taken out of the third book of Xenophon's Grecian hiſtory, where it is ſaid Ageſilaus oppoſed Leotychides with three invincible arguments. Firſt, "Agis, "has declared that you are not his "ſon. Secondly, Your mother "herſelf, who ought to know "beſt, ſays even now that Agis "was not your father; and in "the third place, Neptune alſo "is an evidence against you; for "having one night forced Agis "out of bed by the violent ſhock "of an earthquake, the King abſtained from her for ten months "together, and you was born after "the expiration of that term.

teſted by Neptune, who threw Agis out of bed from his wife by a violent earthquake; after which time he did not cohabit with her; yet Leotychides was born above ten months after it. Ageſilaus upon theſe allegations was declared King, and ſoon poſſeſſed himſelf of the private eſtate of Agis, as well as his throne, Leotychides being wholly rejected as a baſtard. But ſeeing that the kindred of Agis by the mother's ſide were perſons of worth and virtue, but very poor, he gave them half his brother's eſtate, and by this popular action gained the good-will, not of them only, but of the Spartans in general, and ſtifled that envy that was growing againſt him upon the account of his ſucceſſion to the kingdom. Xenophon ſays of him, "that by ſubmitting "to the laws of his country, he acquired ſuch great power "that he could do what he pleaſed;" which is thus to be explained. The chief power was lodged in the hands of the Ephori and ſenate; the Ephori were annually choſen, but the ſenators held their places during life; both were inſtituted as bridles to reſtrain the too abſolute power of the Kings, as we have already mentioned in the life of Lycurgus (4). Hence it was that the Kings even from the firſt retained an hereditary averſion to them, and were always at variance with them. But Ageſilaus took another courſe; inſtead of contending with them, he courted them. He always acted by their advice, and was always ready to go when they ſent for him. If he were upon his throne hearing cauſes, and the Ephori came in, he roſe to them. Whenever any man was elected into the ſenate, he always preſented him with a gown and an ox, as a mark of diſtinction. Thus, whilſt he ſeemed to ſhow reſpect and deference to their power he ſecretly advanced his own, and ſtrengthned the prerogative by acquiring their good-will and friendſhip. To the other citizens he behaved in ſuch a manner that he was leſs blameable in his enmities than in his friendſhips: for he never took any unjuſt advantage againſt his enemies;

(4) Vol. i. p. 109, 112.

(5) In

mies; but to his friends he was partial beyond the rules of juſtice. If an enemy had done any thing praiſe-worthy, he ſcorned to detract from his due praiſe; but he knew not how to reprove his friends when they did ill; nay, he would even join with them, and aſſiſt them in their injuſtice. For he thought all offices of friendſhip commendable, let the matter wherein they were employed be it what it would. When any of his adverſaries were under a misfortune, he was the firſt to pity them, and readily gave them his aſſiſtance when they aſked it; by which means he became exceedingly popular, and captivated the hearts of all men. His popularity grew at laſt ſuſpected by the Ephori; and they fined him as a monopolizer of the citizens, who ought to be the common goods of the republick. For as it is the opinion of philoſophers, that if all ſtrife and oppoſition were removed out of the univerſe, all the heavenly bodies would ſtand ſtill, and generation and motion ceaſe, by reaſon of the mutual conſent and agreement of all things; ſo the Spartan legiſlator ſeems to have mingled ambition and emulation among the ingredients of his commonwealth, as the incentives of virtue, thinking that ſuch a mutual compliance and forbearance as excluded all contention and reproof, was an indolent uſeleſs thing, not deſerving the name of concord. Some think that Homer has this in view when he repreſents (5) Agamemnon as well pleaſed with the contention of Ulyſſes and Achilles, and with the reproaches that paſſed between them; which he would never have done, unleſs he had thought that the diſſentions of great men were of uſe to the ſtate. Yet this maxim is not to be granted without reſtriction; for if the heats grow too great, they are very dangerous and fatal to a commonwealth.

Ageſilaus was hardly entered upon the government, when news came from Aſia, that the Perſian King was making great naval preparations to deprive the Spartans of their empire of the ſea. Lyſander was glad of this

(5) In the eighth book of the Odyſſey.

(6) See

this opportunity of ſuccouring his friends in Aſia, whom he had there left governors of the cities, and who for their male-adminiſtration and tyrannical behaviour had been depoſed, and many of them put to death. He therefore perſuaded Ageſilaus to undertake the expedition, and by removing the war from Greece into Perſia, to prevent the deſigns of the barbarians. He alſo wrote to his friends in Aſia, adviſing them to ſend an embaſſy to demand Ageſilaus for their General. Ageſilaus thereupon coming into the publick aſſembly, offered his ſervice, upon condition that he might have thirty eminent Spartans for his lieutenants and counſellors, two thouſand of the newly enfranchized Helots, and ſix thouſand of the allies. Lyſander's authority and aſſiſtance ſoon obtained this requeſt; ſo that he was ſent away with the thirty Spartans of whom Lyſander was the chief, not only in power and reputation, but alſo in friendſhip with Ageſilaus, who eſteemed his procuring him this charge a greater obligation than that of preferring him to the kingdom.

Whilſt the army was aſſembling at Geræſtus, Ageſilaus went with ſome of his friends to Aulis, where he dreamed that he heard a man ſpeak to him after this manner: "O King of the Lacedæmonians, you cannot but know "that till now no one ever was declared General of the "Greeks but Agamemnon; and ſince you command the "ſame men, make war againſt the ſame enemies, and be-"gin your expedition from the ſame place, you ought alſo "to offer ſuch a ſacrifice as he offered before he ſet ſail."

Ageſilaus ſoon remembered that the ſacrifice which Agamemnon offered was his own daughter, he being ſo directed by the Oracle. However he was not at all diſturbed at it; but as ſoon as he aroſe, he told his dream to his friends, adding withall, that he would worſhip the Goddeſs with ſuch ſacrifices as would be acceptable to her as a Goddeſs, and not imitate the rude barbarity of that General. He therefore ordered an hind to be crowned with chaplets, and delivered to his own ſoothſayer to be offered by him, reſolving that the perſon, who, according to the cuſtom of the country,

country, had been named by the Bœotians to that office, should not perform the ceremony. When the Bœotian governors heard this, they were very much offended, and sent officers to Agesilaus, to forbid his sacrificing contrary to the laws of the country. They having delivered their message to him, immediately went to the altar, and threw down the quarters of the hind that lay upon it. This gave great uneasiness to Agesilaus, who immediately hoisted sail, being highly incensed against the Bœotians, and much discouraged at this bad omen, which seemed to presage an unsuccessful voyage, and a bad issue of the whole expedition.

When he came to Ephesus, he found the power and interest of Lysander was unsufferably great; all applications were made to him; great crouds of suitors always attended at his door, all men following and paying their court to him, as if the name of General had for form's sake been given to Agesilaus, while the whole power and authority really resided in Lysander. For none of all the commanders that had been sent into Asia were ever so powerful or so formidable as he; no one had rewarded his friends better, or had been more severe against his enemies: and as these things had been lately done, they made the greater impression in mens minds; especially when they compared the easy and popular behaviour of Agesilaus with the stern and haughty carriage of Lysander, and his short and churlish manner of speaking, by which he so subdued their spirits, that they wholly submitted to him, paying little regard to Agesilaus. This first gave offence to the other captains, who could not without indignation see themselves treated rather as the officers of Lysander than the counsellors of the King. At length Agesilaus himself, who though he was no envious man in his nature, but well pleased to see honour conferred on merit, yet was highly jealous of his own glory, and full of courage and ambition, began to apprehend that Lysander's greatness would soon eclipse his, and carry away from him the reputation of whatever great action should be performed. He therefore acted in this manner. He

firſt oppoſed him in all his counſels; whatever Lyſander adviſed with the greateſt earneſtneſs, was rejected, and other propoſals followed. Whoever made any petition to him was certainly denied if Ageſilaus found that he depended upon the intereſt of Lyſander. Nay even in judicial matters, they who were oppoſed by Lyſander were ſure to gain their cauſe; and whoever was viſibly favoured by him, rarely eſcaped without being fined. Theſe things being not done by chance, but conſtantly and on purpoſe, Lyſander was ſoon ſenſible of them, and plainly told his friends, that they ſuffered for his ſake, bidding them apply to the King, and ſuch as had more power with him than he had. By ſpeaking in this manner he deſigned to render Ageſilaus odious, who therefore to affront him ſtill more, appointed him to the office of carver, and in a public company ſaid, "Now "whoever pleaſes may go and pay his court to my carver." Lyſander, no longer able to brook theſe indignities, complained at laſt to Ageſilaus himſelf telling him, "that "he knew better than any one how to diſgrace his friends." To which Ageſilaus replied, "I know who they are that "pretend to more power than myſelf." "That, replied Lyſander, "is rather ſaid by you, than done by me; "but I deſire only this favour of you, that you will "aſſign me ſome office and place in which I may ſerve "you without incurring your diſpleaſure."

Upon this Ageſilaus ſent him to the Helleſpont on an embaſſy, where he prevailed on Spithridates a Perſian in the province of Pharnabazus, to come to the aſſiſtance of the Greeks with two hundred horſe, and a great ſupply of money. However he always retained his reſentment for the indignities he had received, ſo that he formed a deſign of wreſting the kingdom out of the hands of the two families which then enjoyed it, and making it wholly elective, thereby leaving the throne open

(6) See this further explained in the life of Lyſander, Vol. III. p. 206.

(7) All his officers were exceedingly concerned at it, for they thought they had not a ſtrength ſufficient to withſtand the formidable forces of the King of Perſia; but Ageſilaus on the contrary was highly

open to any Spartan who had merit enough to pretend to it (6). And it is thought he would have occaſioned great commotions in the ſtate, if he had not died in the expedition into Bœotia. So dangerous are ambitious ſpirits in a ſtate when they tranſgreſs juſt bounds, and ſo much the greater is the miſchief than the good which they produce. For though Lyſander's pride was unſufferable, and his ambition very unſeaſonable, yet might Ageſilaus have found out ſome method of correcting him, leſs reproachful to a man of his merit and reputation, whoſe greateſt fault was his ambition. Indeed in my opinion they were both equally guilty, and both blinded by the ſame paſſion, ſo that the one would not pay the ſubmiſſion due to his Prince, nor the other bear with the imperfections of his friend.

Tiſaphernes being at firſt afraid of Ageſilaus, concluded a truce with him, making him believe that the King his maſter would relinquiſh to him the Grecian cities, and ſet them at liberty. But ſoon after finding a ſufficient force drawn together, he reſolved upon war; (7) at which Ageſilaus was overjoyed. For the expectation from this expedition was great; and he did not think it for his honour, that Xenophon with ten thouſand men ſhould march through the heart of Aſia to the ſea, beating the Perſian forces when and how he pleaſed, and that Ageſilaus, at the head of the army of the Spartans, (who then commanded both at ſea and land) ſhould raiſe no monument of his fame among the Grecians by any great action. He therefore revenged the perjury of Tiſaphernes by a lawful ſtratagem. He pretended to march into Caria, whither when he had drawn Tiſaphernes and his army, he ſuddenly turned back, and invaded Phrygia, where he took many cities, and carried away a great booty. Upon this occaſion he convinced his friends that to break a ſolemn league is

highly pleaſed with it; he received the ambaſſadors from Tiſaphernes with a gay countenance, and ordered them to tell their maſter "that he was much obliged "to him, for that by this violation of his oath he had made the "Gods enemies to Perſia, and "friends to the Grecians."

(8) Plu-

is to affront the Gods; but that to deceive and circumvent an enemy in war, is not only juſt but honourable, and very agreeable as well as advantageous.

Being weak in cavalry, and being alſo terrified by an ill omen in the ſacrifices, the liver being found to want that lobe which the ſoothſayers call the head, he retired to Epheſus; where he declared to thoſe that were wealthy, that if they were not inclined to follow him, and ſerve in perſon, he would excuſe them upon their finding each of them a man and horſe. A great many of them accepted of the propoſition; ſo that he ſoon found his army ſtrengthened not with a number of timorous rich men, but with a conſiderable body of reſolute cavalry. For thoſe who were averſe to fighting themſelves, hired ſuch as were more martial in their inclinations, and ſuch as loved not to ſerve on horſeback, ſubſtituted in their place ſuch as did. He profeſſed in this (8) to imitate the laudable example of Agamemnon, who took the preſent of an excellent mare, to excuſe a rich coward from ſerving in the army.

When by Ageſilaus's order, the priſoners he had taken in Phrygia were expoſed to ſale, they were firſt ſtripped of their garments, and then ſold naked. The cloaths found many buyers; but the bodies being, by the eaſe they had always lived in, rendered white and tender, were derided and ſcorned as unſerviceable. Ageſilaus who ſtood by at the auction, told his Grecians, "Theſe "are the men againſt whom ye fight, and thoſe are the "things for which ye fight."

The proper ſeaſon of the year being come, he gave out that he would invade Lydia; which plain dealing of his was miſtaken for a ſtratagem by Tiſaphernes, who by not believing Ageſilaus, becauſe he had been already deceived by him, over-reached himſelf. He expected that

(8) Plutarch has taken this from the twenty-third book of the Iliad, where Homer ſays Echepolus the ſon of Anchiſes the Grecian gave Agamemnon a fine mare, that he might be excuſed from going to the war, and be allowed to paſs his time in the full enjoyment of thoſe pleaſures that abounded in the city of Sicyon.

(9) Tithrauſtes ſent his ambaſſadors

that he would have made choice of Caria, that being a rough country, not fit for horſe, in which he deemed Ageſilaus to be weak. But when he found him to be as good as his word, and that he was entered into the plains of Sardis, he then was forced to march in all haſte to ſuccour that place. As he came up with his cavalry, he cut off ſeveral of the ſtragglers from Ageſilaus's army, who were roaming up and down the country for pillage. Ageſilaus in the mean time conſidering that the enemies horſe had outrid the foot, but that he himſelf had the whole body of his army entire made haſte to engage them. He mingled his light armed foot with the horſe, commanding them to begin the battle, whilſt he brought up the heavy-armed ſoldiers. The barbarians were put to flight, and the Grecians purſuing them cloſe, took their camp, and put many of them to the ſword. The conſequence of this victory was, that they not only had the liberty of foraging in the Perſian provinces, and of plundering them at pleaſure, but alſo ſaw Tiſaphernes pay dearly for all the cruelty he had ſhowed the Greeks, to whom he was a profeſſed enemy. For the King of Perſia ſoon ſent another to ſucceed him, named Tithrauſtes, who cut off his head, and propoſing an accommodation to Ageſilaus, (9) ſent him by his ambaſſadors large ſums of money to induce him to it, and to perſuade him to return into Greece. Ageſilaus anſwered, "That the making peace belonged to the La-
"cedæmonians, not to him; that as for wealth, he had
"rather ſee it in his ſoldiers hands than his own; that
"the Grecians thought it not honourable to enrich them-
"ſelves with the bribes of their enemies, but with their
"ſpoils only." Yet, that he might gratify Tithrauſtes for the juſtice he had done upon Tiſaphernes the avowed enemy of the Greeks, he removed his army into Phrygia, accepting

ſadors to Ageſilaus, to let him know that the King his maſter having cauſed the author of the war to be puniſhed as he deſerved, reſtored the Greek cities in Aſia to their liberty, upon condition that they paid the eſtabliſhed tribute, and that he hoped this condeſcenſion in the King would perſuade him to accept the peace, and return home.

(1) This

accepting of thirty talents towards the charge of it. Whilſt he was upon his march, he received a letter from the council of Sparta, by which he was conſtituted Admiral as well as General. He was the firſt man on whom the Spartans had conferred that honour, and indeed no one had ſo well deſerved it. For he was confeſſedly (as Theopompus ſomewhere ſays) a perſon of the higheſt reputation of any of his contemporaries, and yet he choſe rather to derive his grandeur from his virtue than his authority. However he committed a great fault, in preferring Piſander to the command of the navy, when there were many officers at hand both older and wiſer; in this not ſo much conſulting the publick good, as the gratification of his kindred, and eſpecially his wife, whoſe brother Piſander was.

Having removed his camp into Pharnabazus's province, he not only met with great plenty of proviſions, but alſo raiſed great ſums of money; and marching on to Paphlagonia, he ſoon drew Cotys, the King of it, into a league, to which he of his own accord inclined, out of the eſteem he had of Ageſilaus's honour and virtue.

Spithridates, who had quitted Pharnabazus's ſervice before and joined Ageſilaus, never left him, but accompanied him wherever he went. He had a ſon named Megabates, a youth of great beauty, of whom Ageſilaus was enamoured, and a very beautiful daughter, who was marriageable. Her Ageſilaus matched to Cotys; and taking of him a thouſand horſe, with two thouſand light-armed foot, he returned into Phrygia, and there pillaged the country of Pharnabazus, who durſt not ſtand him in the field, nor yet truſt to his garriſons; but carrying with him his jewels and the richeſt of his treaſures, he retreated from place to place, till Spithridates being joined with (1) Herippidas the Spartan, took his camp, and ſeized all his treaſure. Herippidas by enquiring too ſeverely into the plunder which the barbarians

(1) This Herippidas was one of the new council of thirty, whom the Spartans had ſent to Ageſilaus in the ſecond year of his command; for that council was removed annually, and Herippidas was

barians had taken, and by forcing them to deliver it up, ſo diſobliged Spithridates, that he changed ſides again, and went off with the Paphlagonians to Sardis. It is ſaid that Ageſilaus was more ſenſibly touched with this than with any thing that happened in the whole courſe of the expedition, not only becauſe he had loſt the friendſhip of a valiant commander, and with him a conſiderable number of men, but becauſe he lay under the reproach of ſordid covetouſneſs, of which he always was ſolicitous to clear both himſelf and his country. Beſides theſe publick cauſes of his concern, he had a private one, which was his love to Megabates. He had always, however, endeavoured with the utmoſt reſolution to ſuppreſs it, eſpecially in preſence of the boy; ſo that when Megabates once offered to ſalute and kiſs him, he declined it. The youth being much abaſhed at the repulſe grew more reſerved, and from that time ſaluted him at a greater diſtance; at which Ageſilaus was much concerned, and repenting his coyneſs he pretended to wonder why he did not ſalute him with the like familiarity as formerly. His friends about him anſwered, "You, Sir, are in fault, "you who durſt not the other day ſtand the kiſs of ſo "beautiful a youth, but avoided it as if you had been "frighted at him. He might ſoon be perſuaded to come "nearer, and accoſt you as formerly; but take care you "do not ſhun him again." Upon this Ageſilaus pauſed a while, and length anſwered, "You need not encourage "him to a repetition of that kindneſs; I had rather be "maſter of myſelf in the refuſal of that kiſs, than poſſeſs "all the gold that my eyes ever beheld." Thus he behaved to Megabates whilſt he remained with him; but ſo ſtrong was his paſſion for him when he was gone, that I queſtion whether if he had returned, all the virtue he had could have induced him to ſuch another refuſal.

Some time after this, Pharnabazus ſought an opportunity of conferring with Ageſilaus, which Apollophanes of Cyzicus, the common hoſt of them both, procured for

was placed at the head of this ſecond, as Lyſander had been named firſt in the former commiſſion.

(2) This

for him. Ageſilaus coming firſt to the appointed place with his friends, threw himſelf down upon the graſs under a tree, where he waited for Pharnabazus, who brought with him ſoft ſkins and rich carpets to lie down upon; but when he ſaw Ageſilaus's poſture, he was aſhamed of them, and laid himſelf down upon the graſs alſo, though he was dreſſed in a robe of an extremely fine texture and very richly dyed. Pharnabazus had matter enough of complaint againſt Ageſilaus, and therefore after the mutual civilities were over, he put him in mind of the great ſervices he had done the Lacedæmonians in the Attick war, of which he thought it an ill recompence, to have his country thus haraſſed and ſpoiled by thoſe men who had been ſo obliged to him. The Spartans that were about Ageſilaus hung down their heads, as aſhamed of the wrong they had done to Pharnabazus. But the King anſwered, "We, O Pharnabazus, when we were in amity with the King of Perſia, behaved like friends; but "now when we are at war with him, we behave as enemies. As for you, we look upon you as his ſervant; we "therefore moleſt you only that we may hurt him. But "whenever you will chuſe rather to be a friend to the Grecians, than a ſlave of the King of Perſia, you may then "reckon this army and navy to be all at your command, "to defend both you and your country, together with "your liberties, without which there is nothing honourable or deſirable among men." Upon this Pharnabazus diſcovered his mind, and anſwered. "If the King ſhould "ſend another Governor in my room, I will certainly "come over to you; but as long as he truſts me "with the government, I ſhall be juſt to him, and not "fail to uſe my utmoſt endeavours to oppoſe you." Ageſilaus was pleaſed with this anſwer; and taking hold of his hand and riſing up, he ſaid, "How much do I wiſh "that ſuch a man was my friend rather than my enemy(2)."

Thus ended the conference, and Pharnabazus retired; but

(2) This was not all. Ageſilaus added, "In the mean time be aſ- "ſured that we will immediately "march out of the provinces un- "der your government; and for "the future if we muſt remain in "a ſtate of war, ſo long as there is "any other to keep our arms in "exerciſe, we will leave you un- "moleſted

but his ſon ſtaying behind, ran up to Ageſilaus, and ſaid with a ſmile, "Ageſilaus, I from this day am bound with "you in the ſacred ties of hoſpitality;" and then preſented him with a javelin which he had in his hand. Ageſilaus received it, and being much taken with the good mien and politeneſs of the youth, looked about to ſee if there were any thing in his train fit to offer him in return; and obſerving the horſe of Adæus, his ſecretary, to have very fine trappings, he took them off, and beſtowed them upon the youth. Nor did his kindneſs reſt there, but he was ever after mindful of him, ſo that when he was driven out of his country by his brethren, and lived an exile in Peloponneſus, he took great care of his maintenance, and even condeſcended to aſſiſt him in his amours. For he happened to fall in love with a youth of Athens, who had been bred up to his exerciſes, in order to contend for the prize in the Olympick games, but as he was well grown, (3) he had like to have been refuſed when he offered himſelf to be entered among the other competitors. The young Prince therefore applied to Ageſilaus, who undertook the buſineſs for him, and with much difficulty ſucceeded. He was in all other things a man of exact juſtice; but when the intereſt of a friend was concerned, he thought that to be rigorouſly juſt was only a colourable pretence for denying him. There is an epiſtle written to Idrieus, the Carian, which is aſcribed to Ageſilaus; it is this: "If Nicias be innocent, abſolve him; "if he be guilty, abſolve him upon my account; however "be ſure to abſolve him." And indeed this was the true character of Ageſilaus, as to his deportment towards his friends. Yet ſometimes he conſidered the neceſſity of his own affairs more than his friends, of which he once gave an example. Being obliged to decamp in great haſte and diſorder, he was forced to leave his favourite youth behind him; and when he called aloud after him, and implored his help, Ageſilaus turning

"moleſted" Xen. Lib. 4.

(3) For ſometimes combats of boys were exhibited; and thoſe who were arrived at a certain age were excluded out of the lists.

(4) Xeno-

turning back, ſaid, "What an hard thing is it to love "and to be wiſe at the ſame time?" This ſtory is told by Hieronymus the philoſopher.

Another year of the war being ſpent, Ageſilaus's fame ſtill increaſed, ſo that his temperance, his candour and moderation were highly celebrated even in the remoter provinces of Perſia. When he took any journey with his private retinue, he uſually lodged in a temple, making the Gods witneſſes of his moſt private actions, with which others would ſcarce permit men to be acquainted. In ſo great an army there was ſcarcely a common ſoldier who lay on a harder bed than Ageſilaus; and he was ſo inured to the varieties of heat and cold, that both ſeemed natural to him. The Greeks that inhabited Aſia, were much pleaſed to ſee the Perſian governors and generals, who from their wealth and luxury were before intolerably proud and inſolent, now ſtanding in awe of a man that went about in an old coarſe cloak, with wonderful ductility changing their manners and appearance on the leaſt intimation of his will, and ſuffering all their motions to be guided by his conciſe Laconick orders. It put them in mind of that verſe in Timotheus,

To Mars *the pow'r belongs*, Greece *fears not gold.*

As many parts of Aſia now revolted from the Perſians, Ageſilaus ſettled the affairs of the ſeveral cities, and regulated their government, without the death or baniſhment of one ſingle perſon. He then reſolved to quit the ſea-ſide, to march further up into the country, to attack the King of Perſia himſelf in the midſt of his pleaſures in his cities of Suſa and Ecbatane, and not to allow him leiſure to ſit as an idle ſpectator of the wars of others, hiring by his preſents the ſeveral ſtates of Greece to deſtroy each other, and bribing their orators to ſecond his pernicious deſigns. But in the mean time Epicydidas the Spartan arrived, with the news that Sparta was involved in a Grecian war, and with an order from the Ephori for Ageſilaus to return home and aſſiſt his own country.

O Greeks

O Greeks *inventors of barbarian ills!*

For what better can we ſay of that envy and hatred, and thoſe inteſtine diviſions, which deſtroyed the fortune of Greece, and called her back from her full career of victory over the barbarians, only to ſheath her ſword in her own bowels? For I can by no means aſſent to Demeratus of Corinth, who ſaid, "That thoſe Grecians "were deprived of a great ſatisfaction, who did not live to "ſee Alexander ſit on the throne of Darius. That ſight ſhould rather have drawn tears from them, when they conſidered, that they had left that glory to Alexander and the Macedonians, whilſt they deſtryoed all their own great commanders in the fields of Leuctra, Coronea, Corinth and Arcadia.

No part of Ageſilaus's conduct was greater than his behaviour on this occaſion; nor can a nobler inſtance be found in hiſtory, of a ready obedience, and juſt deference to his country. Hannibal, though unſucceſsful and almoſt driven out of Italy, yet could hardly be prevailed on to return when his country was involved in a war at home. And Alexander made a jeſt of the battle between Agis and Antipater, ſaying to his friends, "Whilſt "we are conquering Darius in Aſia, it ſeems there is a "battle of mice in Arcadia." How happy then was Sparta in the obedience and reſpect which Ageſilaus ſhowed to the laws of his country? For immediately upon receiving his orders, though in the midſt of his good fortune, and in full hope of great and glorious ſucceſs, he left his work unfiniſhed, and inſtantly departed, leaving his friends in Aſia very ſorrowful for the loſs of him, and having abundantly confuted the ſaying of Demaratus the Pheacian, "That the Lacedæmonians ex-"celled in their publick tranſactions, but that the Athe-"nians were better obſervers of private friendſhip." For as he approved himſelf an excellent King and General, he ſhowed himſelf ſtill more to be a deſirable friend, and agreeable companion.

The coin of Perſia was ſtamped on one ſide with the figure of an Archer; which made Ageſilaus ſay, "That

" ten thouſand Perſian archers had driven him out of Aſia;" that ſum having been laid out in bribing the (4) orators in Thebes and Athens, whereby thoſe two republicks were incited to make war with Sparta.

Having croſſed the Helleſpont, he marched without aſking leave of any of the barbarians; he only ſent meſſengers through Thrace to them, to demand " whether they " would have him paſs through their country as a friend or " as an enemy." All the reſt received him as a friend, and uſed him with the greateſt civility: but the Trallians (of whom Xerxes is ſaid to have bought his paſſage) demanded of him a hundred talents of ſilver, and a hundred of his women. Ageſilaus in reply only aſked the meſſengers ironically, " Why their maſters were not come with them " to receive it?" In the mean time he marched on, and finding them drawn up to oppoſe him, he attacked them, put them to flight, and ſlew great numbers of them. He ſent the like embaſſy to the King of Macedonia, who replied, " He would take time to deliberate:" " Why " then let him deliberate, ſaid Ageſilaus, we will go for- " ward in the mean time." The Macedonian being ſurprized and daunted at the reſolution of the Spartan King, deſired him to paſs through his country as a friend. When he came into Theſſaly, he laid waſte the country, becauſe the Theſſalians were in league with the enemy. He ſent Xenocles and Scytha to Lariſſa, to perſuade the inhabitants to join with the Spartans; but the Lariſſæans ſeized and impriſoned them; and when the army was enraged, and adviſed him to beſiege the town, he anſwered, " That he valued either of thoſe men at more than " the whole country of Theſſaly." He therefore made terms with them, and received his men again upon compoſition. Nor need we wonder at that ſaying of Ageſilaus, for when ſome time before news was brought him that a great battle had been fought near Corinth, wherein many brave men fell, but that the loſs of the enemy was infinitely greater than that of the Spartans, he appeared not in the

(4) Xenophon tells us that Tiraufles ſent Timocrates of Rhodes with fifty talents into Greece, which he diſtributed at Thebes, Argos, and Corinth; but he adds, that Athens had no ſhare in that diſtri-

the leaſt pleaſed or elated with the victory, but with a deep ſigh cried out, "O Greece, how many gallant men "haſt thou with thy own hands deſtroyed, who if they had "been preſerved, might have conquered all the barbari-"ans!" Yet when the Pharſalians harraſſed his army, and incommoded his paſſage, he drew out five hundred horſe, and in perſon fought and routed them, and ſet up a trophy at mount Narthacium. He valued himſelf much upon that victory, becauſe with ſo ſmall a number of his own training, he had vanquiſhed an army of men, who thought themſelves the beſt horſemen in Greece.

Here Diphridas, one of the Ephori, met him, and ordered him immediately to make an inroad into Bœotia. Though he thought it would have been better to have delayed this, and to have done it with a greater force, yet he obeyed the magiſtrates, and told his ſoldiers, that the day was come when they were to enter upon that employment, on the account of which they were brought out of Aſia. He then ſent for two cohorts of the army near Corinth to his aſſiſtance; and the Lacedæmonians at home, in honour to him, made proclamation for volunteers that would ſerve under the King, to come in and be liſted. Finding that all the inhabitants readily offered themſelves, the magiſtrates choſe fifty of the ableſt, and ſent them.

Ageſilaus having paſſed Thermopylæ, and marched through Phocis, which was in friendſhip with Sparta, entered Bœotia, and encamped near Chæronea. Juſt at that time there happened an eclipſe of the ſun (5), and news was likewiſe brought that Piſander had been defeated by Pharnabazus and Conon, in a ſea-engagement near Cnidos, and that he himſelf was ſlain. He was much grieved at this both on account of his own loſs, and that of the publick. Yet leſt his army, being now near engaging, ſhould be diſcouraged at the news, he ordered the meſſengers to give out that Piſander had obtained the victory; and he himſelf appeared in publick

diſtribution.

(5) This eclipſe happened on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, in the third year of the ninety-ſixth Olympiad, three hundred ninety-two years before the incarnation.

lick with a garland on his head, and returned thanks for the ſucceſs in a ſolemn ſacrifice, of which he ſent portions to his friends.

When he came near to Coronea, and was within view of the enemy, he drew up his army, and giving the left wing to the Orchomenians, he himſelf led the right. The Thebans drew up their army likewiſe, forming the right wing themſelves, and aſſigning the left to the Argives. Xenophon, who was preſent at this battle, fighting near Ageſilaus, with whom he returned out of Aſia, tells us that it was the ſharpeſt engagement that had happened in his time.

The firſt charge was neither violent nor laſting; for the Thebans ſoon routed the Orchomenians, as Ageſilaus did the Argives. But both parties being informed of the condition their left wings were in, turned about inſtantly to relieve them. Here Ageſilaus might have been ſure of his victory without any riſk, if he would have ſuffered the Thebans to paſs, and ſo have charged them in the rear; but ſuch was his eagerneſs and fury, that he would not wait for the opportunity, but attacked them in front, thinking to bear them down before him. The Thebans were not behind him in courage, ſo that the battle was fiercely carried on on both ſides, eſpecially near Ageſilaus's perſon, whoſe new guard of fifty volunteers ſtood him in great ſtead that day, and ſaved his life. They fought with great valour, and expoſed themſelves to the utmoſt danger in his defence; they could not however prevent him from receiving many wounds through his armour with lances and ſwords. At laſt making a ring about him, they with great difficulty brought him off alive, after having killed many of the enemy, and loſt many of their own number. At length finding it too hard a taſk to break the front of the Theban army, they were obliged to have recourſe to an artifice which in the beginning they ſcorned; for now they opened their ranks and ſuffered the Thebans to paſs through; and obſerving that they marched in a diſorderly manner, they turned upon them and attacked

tacked them in flank and rear. They could not however totally rout the Thebans, who marched on to Helicon, boasting, that their part of the army was yet unconquered.

Agesilaus, though much weakened by the many wounds he had received, would not retire to his tent, till he had been first carried about the field, and had seen the dead men of his army carried off in their armour. Being told that several of the enemy had taken sanctuary in the temple of Minerva the Itonian, which stood hard by, he ordered them to be dismissed in safety. Before this temple stood a trophy erected by the Bœotians, for a victory formerly obtained by them over the Athenians under the conduct of Sparton, wherein Tolmidas the Athenian General was slain.

Next morning early Agesilaus, being willing to try whether the Thebans would renew the engagement, commanded his soldiers to put garlands on their heads, and the musicians to play on their flutes, whilst he erected a trophy as conqueror. But when instead of fighting, the enemy asked leave to bury their dead, he gave it them, and so confirmed to himself the victory. After this he went to Delphi, to the Pythian games which were then celebrating, at which feast he assisted, and there solemnly offered to the Gods an hundred talents, which was the tenth part of the spoils he had brought from Asia.

When he returned to Sparta he was greatly beloved and admired by the citizens for his temperance and frugality in his diet and manner of living. For, contrary to the custom of other generals, he came home the same man that he went out, not having learned to admire the fashions of other countries, and to slight and reject those of his own. He paid as much respect to the Spartan customs as if he had never passed over the Eurotas; he made no alteration in the manner of his supping or bathing, in his wife's apparel, in his household furniture, in his armour, nor even in the doors of his house, which were so old, that they might well be thought to be the same with those that had so long ago

been ſet up by Ariſtodemus (6). And Xenophon aſſures us that his daughter's chariot (called the Canathrum) was no richer than that of others. This Canathrum, was a vehicle made of wood, in the ſhape of a griffin, or ſome other animal of a ſtrange uncommon figure, in which the young virgins were carried in the proceſſions. Xenophon has not left us the name of this daughter of Ageſilaus; and Dicæarchus is much diſpleaſed that we know not the names either of the daughter of Ageſilaus, or of Epaminondas's mother. But in the ancient inſcriptions which may be ſeen at Sparta, it appears that Ageſilaus's wife was called Cleora, and that he had two daughters whoſe names were Apolia and Prolyta. The Spartans likewiſe to this day ſhow his ſpear, which is in nothing different from that of other men.

Obſerving that many of his citizens valued themſelves upon breeding horſes for the chariot-races in the Olympick games, he perſuaded his ſiſter Cyniſca to place herſelf in a chariot and to contend for the prize, being deſirous to convince the Grecians that theſe victories were not obtained by ſtrength or courage, but by wealth and expence.

He had near his perſon the wiſe Xenophon, whom he highly eſteemed and reſpected. He perſuaded him to ſend for his children to Sparta, there to be brought up, and to be taught the moſt valuable of all ſciences, how to command, and how to obey.

Lyſander being dead, and his faction yet great and prevalent, which upon his return from Aſia he had raiſed againſt Ageſilaus, the King thought it adviſeable to ſhow publickly what ſort of a citizen he had been whilſt he lived. And finding an oration among his writings, that was compoſed by Cleon the Halicarnaſſean, and intended to be ſpoken by Lyſander in a publick aſſembly, to excite the people to make innovations in the government, he reſolved to publiſh it. But one of the

(6) This Ariſtodemus the ſon of Hercules was the founder of the Royal family in Sparta, eleven hundred years before the incarnation; ſo that the gates of Ageſilaus's palace had been ſtanding ſeven hundred and eight years, at his return after the victory gained

the ſenators having the peruſal of it, and finding it ſtrongly written, adviſed him not "to dig up Lyſander "again, but rather to bury that oration in the grave with "him." This advice he hearkened to, and ſuppreſt the oration. As for his enemies, he uſed no open means to ſuppreſs them, but on the contrary made uſe of all his intereſt to obtain for them either the command of the armies, or ſome other conſiderable poſt in the government. This gave them an opportunity of manifeſting their avarice and diſhoneſty; and if at any time they were called to account for their ill practices, he ſolicited for them, and patronized them, by which he brought them over to his intereſt, and of avowed enemies made them his firm friends; ſo that in a ſhort time there was not one left to oppoſe his meaſures. For as to Ageſipolis the other King, he was the ſon of an exiled father, was very young, modeſt, inactive, and concerned himſelf but little with publick affairs. Ageſilaus contrived to make him yet more tractable. According to the cuſtom of Sparta, the kings if they were in town always dined together. Ageſilaus knowing that Ageſipolis was not leſs diſpoſed to love than himſelf, continually turned the diſcourſe upon ſome of the moſt aimable youths in the city, and at laſt brought him to fix his affection on a favourite of his own, and was both his companion and aſſiſtant in his love. For this love among the Spartans had nothing in it that was ſhameful or vicious, but was always accompanied with virtue and honour, and a noble emulation of rendering thoſe they loved ſtill more aimable and virtuous, as we have already obſerved in the life of Lycurgus.

Having thus encreaſed and eſtabliſhed his power, he eaſily obtained that his half brother Teleutias might be choſen Admiral; after which he marched with his land forces againſt Corinth (7), where he made himſelf maſter of the long walls, whilſt his brother beſieged it by ſea. The

gained at Chæronea.

(7) Plutarch in this place confounds two expeditions undertaken by Ageſilaus againſt Corinth, and makes but one of both. Xenophon has diſtinguiſhed them very clearly in his fourth book.

The Argives were then in poſſeſſion of Corinth, and were in the midſt of their Iſthmian games, when he came upon them, and made them retire from their ſacrifices, and leave all their feſtival preparations behind them. The exiled Corinthians who were in the Spartan army deſired him to proceed in the ſolemnity and to preſide at it himſelf. This he refuſed, but gave them leave to celebrate it, and he in the mean time ſtayed and guarded them. When Ageſilaus retired, the Argives returned to their ſports again. Some who were victors before, conquered a ſecond time, and others loſt the prizes which before they had gained. But Ageſilaus ſeverely reproached the Argives for cowardice, who having ſo great a veneration for the Iſthmian games, and ſo much valuing themſelves upon the victories there obtained, yet durſt not fight in defence of them. He himſelf was of opinion, that a moderate degree of regard for ſuch things was beſt. Accordingly when he was at Sparta he aſſiſted with great zeal and aſſiduity at the publick games and feſtivals. Nor would he ever be abſent from any of the exerciſes of the young men and the girls. But for thoſe other amuſements, in which he ſaw moſt men ſo deeply engaged, he affected even to be a ſtranger to them. Callipides the tragic actor, who was very eminent through all Greece, one day met Ageſilaus and ſaluted him; he then confidently thruſt himſelf into his train, expecting that the King would take ſome notice of him and pay him ſome compliment. At laſt he aſked the King, "Whether he knew him not?" "What, replied he, art thou Callipides the ſtage player?" Being invited once to hear a man, who admirably imitated the nightingale, he refuſed, ſaying, "That he had "heard the nightingale herſelf." There was one Menecrates a phyſician, who having been famed for ſurpriſing ſucceſs in the cure of ſome deſperate diſeaſes, was called Jupiter: he was ſo vain as to accept the title, and having occaſion to write a letter to Ageſilaus, directed it thus; "Menecrates Jupiter to Ageſilaus, greeting." The King

(8) The Achæans were in poſſeſſion of the city of Calydon, which formerly belonged to Ætolia. The Acarnanians being aſſiſted

King returned answer, "Agesilaus to Menecrates, health, and a right mind.

Whilst Agesilaus was in the Corinthian territories, where he had taken the temple of Juno, he one day stood to observe his soldiers seizing the slaves as they came out of the temple, and carrying off the plunder, when some Theban ambassadors came to him to treat of peace. He having ever had a great aversion for their city, and thinking it then advantageous to his affairs publickly to slight them, pretended not to see them, nor to hear them speak. But heaven immediately revenged this insult; for before they parted from him, he received news that a body of his troops was defeated by Iphicrates. This was the greatest loss that the Spartans had suffered for a long time; for a great number of brave men were killed, and what added to the disgrace was that heavy-armed Lacedæmonians were defeated by light-armed mercenaries. Agesilaus made all the haste he could to their rescue, but came too late. He therefore returned to Juno's temple, and sent for the Theban ambassadors to give them audience. They now resolved to return the affront he had offered them, and without making any mention of the peace, only desired leave to go into Corinth. Agesilaus being enraged at this, answered, "That if they were desirous to go and see how proud their "friends were of their success, they should do it to-mor-"row with safety." Next morning taking the ambassadors with him, he ravaged the Corinthians territories, up to the very gates of the city; where having let the ambassadors see that the Corinthians durst not come out to defend themselves, he dismissed them; then taking with him all those who had escaped after the defeat, he marched homewards, always removing his camp before day, and pitching his tents after night came on, that he might prevent the Arcadians, who hated the Spartans, from taking any opportunity of insulting over their loss.

After this, (8) at the request of the Achæans, he marched with them into Acarnania, from whence he brought

ed by the Athenians and Bœotians attempted to make themselves masters of it, and drive out the garrison placed in it by the Achæans,

brought a great quantity of plunder, and overcame the Acarnanians in battle. The Achæans would have perſuaded him to keep his winter-quarters there, to hinder the Acarnanians from ſowing their corn; but he was of the contrary opinion, alledging, that they would be more afraid of a war the next ſummer, if their fields were ſown, than they would be if they lay fallow. The event juſtified his opinion; for the next year, when the Achæans began their expedition again, the Acarnanians immediately made peace with them.

When Conon and Pharnabazus with the Perſian navy were become maſters of the ſea, and had not only infeſted the coaſt of Laconia, but alſo rebuilt the walls of Athens at the coſt of Pharnabazus, the Lacedæmonians thought fit to treat of peace with the King of Perſia. To that end they ſent Antalcidas to Teribazus, (9) baſely betraying the Aſiatick Greeks, on whoſe behalf Ageſilaus had made war. But no part of this diſhonour fell upon Ageſilaus, the whole being tranſacted by Antalcidas, who was a bitter enemy of Ageſilaus, and was therefore deſirous to conclude a peace, becauſe he knew that war encreaſed Ageſilaus's reputation and authority. But notwithſtanding this when a certain perſon ſaid, "That the "Lacedæmonians were turning Medes," Ageſilaus replied, "No, the Medes are turning Lacedæmonians." And when the Grecians were backward to the agreement, he threatened them with war, unleſs they conſented to the the King of Perſia's terms. Ageſilaus had a particular end in this, which was to weaken the Thebans; for it was one of the articles of peace, that the country of Bœotia ſhould be ſet at liberty, which was then under the dominion of Thebes (1).

This hatred of his to Thebes appeared further afterwards, when Phœbidas in time of peace very diſhonourably ſeized upon the caſtle of Cadmea. This very much incenſed

ans, who finding themſelves in danger, ſent and demanded ſuccours from the Lacedæmonians, who diſpatched Ageſilaus with ſome troops to their aſſiſtance. Xenophon in his fourth book has given us a full account of this expedition.

(9) Antalcidas told Teribazus in his firſt audience, that the Lacedæmonians

incenſed all the Grecians, and was diſapproved even by the Lacedæmonians themſelves; thoſe eſpecially who were enemies to Ageſilaus, highly reſented it, and aſked Phœbidas by whoſe authority it was done, turning the ſuſpicion on it againſt Ageſilaus, who reſolutely anſwered on the behalf of Phœbidas, "That the profitableneſs of "an action was chiefly to be conſidered; that what was for "the advantage of the commonwealth ought to be done "whether there were any orders given for it or not." This was the more remarkable in him, becauſe in his converſation he always recommended juſtice as the chief of the virtues, ſaying, "That valour without juſtice was uſeleſs; "and if all men were juſt, there would be no need of va-"lour." When any ſaid to him, "The great King will "have it ſo;" he would reply, "How is he greater than I, "unleſs he be juſter?" Thus he repreſented juſtice as that royal meaſure by which true greatneſs is to be eſtimated. The peace being concluded, the King of Perſia wrote to Ageſilaus, deſiring a private friendſhip with him; but he refuſed it, ſaying, "That the publick friendſhip "was enough; whilſt that laſted, there was no need of "private." But he did not always act agreeably to theſe ſentiments, being frequently hurried away by ambition or reſentment. Particularly, in this caſe of the Thebans, he not only ſaved Phœbidas, but perſuaded the Lacedæmonians to take the fault upon themſelves, to keep poſſeſſion of Cadmea, and to make Archias and Leontidas, by whom the caſtle had been betrayed, chief governors in Thebes. This gave ſtrong ſuſpicion, that what Phœbidas did was by Ageſilaus's order, which was afterwards made evident by the conſequences. For when the Athenians had expelled the garriſon, and had ſet the Thebans at liberty, he accuſed them of the murder of Archias and Leontidas, (whom he called Polemarchs, though in reality they were tyrants) and declared war againſt them on that account.

Cleom-

dæmonians were not ſollicitous to maintain the liberty of the Greek cities in Aſia, in oppoſition to the King of Perſia, but would be contented if the other cities and the iſlands remained independant. Xenoph. lib. iv.

(1) Xenophon has inſerted in his fifth book the articles of this peace negotiated by Antalcidas.

(2) The

Cleombrotus the other King, ſucceſſor of Ageſipolis lately deceaſed, was ſent at the head of an army in Bœotia; Ageſilaus excuſing himſelf on account of his age, for it was forty years ſince he had firſt born arms, and the laws conſequently exempted him from any further ſervice. But there was another reaſon, which made him decline the command. He thought it would be a ſhame for him, who had not long before made war upon the Phliaſians in favour of exiles, to march now againſt the Thebans in behalf of tyrants.

One Sphodrias of Lacedæmon, who was of the faction oppoſite to Ageſilaus, was at that time governor of Theſpiæ, a man not void of courage or ambition, but full of vain hopes, and of little judgment. This action of Phœbidas fired him to attempt ſome great enterprize, which might render him as famous as he perceived the taking of Cadmea had made Phœbidas. He thought the taking of the Piræus, and cutting off the Athenians from the ſea, a matter of far more glory. It is ſaid, (2) that Pelopidas and Melon the governors of Bœotia put him upon it. They privately ſent ſome men to him, who pretended to be in the Spartan intereſt. Theſe men highly commended Sphodrias, and extolled him as the only man in the world fit for ſo great an enterprize. Being thus encouraged and elated by their praiſes, he engaged in an undertaking as diſhonourable and treacherous as that at Cadmea, but conducted with leſs valour and attended with leſs ſucceſs. For the day broke whilſt he was yet in the plains of Thriaſium; whereas he deſigned that the whole exploit ſhould have been done in the night. As ſoon as the ſoldiers perceived the rays of light reflected from the temples of Eleuſis upon the firſt riſing of the ſun, it is ſaid, that their hearts failed them; nay, he himſelf, when he ſaw that he could not have the benefit of the night, had not courage enough to go on with his enterprize; but, having ſpent a little time

(2) The Thebans fearing the Lacedæmonians would be too ſtrong for them, if they had not ſome other aſſiſtance perſuaded Sphodrias to commit this act of hoſtility againſt the Athenians on purpoſe to draw them into the quarrel. This is what we find in the

time in pillaging the country, he returned with ſhame to Theſpiæ. An embaſſy was upon this ſent from Athens to Sparta, to complain of this breach of the peace; but the ambaſſadors found their journey needleſs, Sphodrias being then under a capital proſecution from the magiſtrates of Sparta. Sphodrias durſt not abide the iſſue of the trial, through fear of the reſentment of the citizens, who were aſhamed of the tranſaction, and were deſirous to appear to have been wronged themſelves, that the Athenians might not ſuſpect them of having been acceſſory to the injury which had been offered to them.

This Sphodrias had a ſon, named Cleonymus, who was young and handſome, and who was beloved by Archidamus the ſon of Ageſilaus. It may eaſily be imagined that Archidamus ſympathized with his friend in the great trouble and anxiety he felt on his father's account; but yet he durſt not publickly give Sphodrias any aſſiſtance, as he was one of the profeſſed enemies of Ageſilaus. At laſt Cleonymus went to him, and importuned him with tears to prevail with the King to deal favourably with his father; for he of all the proſecutors was the moſt formidable. Archidamus had not the courage to ſpeak to his father for three or four days together, but followed him up and down in a profound ſilence. At laſt when the time approached for pronouncing the ſentence, he adventured to tell him, that Cleonymus had entreated him to intercede for Sphodrias. Ageſilaus, though he knew of the love between the two young men, yet did not prohibit it, becauſe he looked upon Cleonymus as a youth of extraordinary merit, and of great hopes. He did not however by his anſwer give his ſon any ground to expect that he would be favourable to Sphodrias; he only told him, "That he would "conſider what he could honourably do in the affair," and ſo diſmiſſed him. Archidamus being aſhamed of his want of ſucceſs, avoided the company of Cleonymus for ſome time, though he uſed to ſee him ſeveral times in

the fifth book of Xenophon. But that author makes no mention either of Pelopidas, or Melon. Plutarch has given us a full account of this whole affair in the life of Pelopidas.

(3) See

in a day. This made the friends of Sphodrias think his caſe deſperate, till Etymocles one of Ageſilaus's friends diſcovered to them the King's mind, and told them, "That he abhorred the fact, but yet he thought Spho-"drias a brave man, ſuch as the commonwealth much "wanted at that time." Ageſilaus uſed every where to talk thus concerning the cauſe, being willing to gratify his ſon; upon which, Cleonymus quickly underſtood that Archidamus had been juſt to him, in uſing all his intereſt with his father; and Sphodrias's friends took courage and exerted themſelves in his defence. Ageſilaus was indeed very fond of his children; and it is reported, that when they were little, he would make a hobby-horſe of a reed, and ride with them. Being one day ſurprized at this ſport by a friend, he deſired him "to ſay nothing "of it, till he himſelf ſhould have children.

When the Athenians heard that Sphodrias was acquitted, they immediately took arms; and Ageſilaus fell into great diſgrace with the people, for having, in order to gratify the fooliſh inclinations of a boy, perverted juſtice, and made the city acceſſory to that ſcandalous outrage which had been committed againſt the Greeks. Finding Cleombrotus little inclined to the Theban war, it became neceſſary for him to quit the privilege of his age, which he had before claimed, and to lead the army himſelf; which he did with variety of ſucceſs, ſometimes conquering, and ſometimes being conquered; ſo that one day when he had received a wound in battle, he was reproached by Antalcidas, who told him that "the The-"bans had made him a good requital, for teaching them "to fight, which they neither liked nor underſtood be-"fore." And indeed they were now grown far better ſoldiers than ever they had been, as they were now inured to war by the frequent expeditions of the Lacedæmonians againſt them. For this reaſon their ancient legiſlator Lycurgus in one of the three decrees called Rhetræ forbad them to make war often againſt the ſame enemies, leſt they ſhould inſtruct them in the military art (3).

The allies of Sparta were not a little diſcontented at Ageſilaus,

(3) See Vol. I. p. 122. (4) For

Ageſilaus, becauſe this war was commenced not upon any publick offence committed by the Thebans, but merely out of his private hatred to them; and they complained of it as highly unreaſonable, that they being the majority of the army, ſhould from year to year be thus expoſed to danger and hardſhip, marching from place to place at the will of a few. Ageſilaus, it is ſaid, deviſed this expedient to ſhow that the allies were not the greater number. He gave orders that all the allies, of whatever country, ſhould ſit down promiſcuouſly on one ſide, and all the Lacedæmonians on the other: which being done, he commanded an herald to proclaim that all the potters ſhould ſtand up; then all the blackſmiths; then all the maſons; next the carpenters; and ſo he went through all the different trades. Thus almoſt all the allies roſe up, and not one of the Lacedæmonians, they being by law forbidden to learn any mechanical trade. Then Ageſilaus ſaid, laughing, "You ſee, my friends, that our num-"ber of ſoldiers is much greater, than yours."

When he brought back his army from Bœotia through Megara, as he was going up to the town-hall in the caſtle, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a convulſion and acute pain in his ſound leg; after which a tumour aroſe, the veſſels ſeemed diſtended with blood, and there appeared all the ſigns of a violent inflammation. He was attended by a Syracuſan phyſician, who let him blood below the ancle: this ſoon eaſed his pain; but it was with great difficulty that the bleeding was ſtopped, and not till it had brought upon him a fainting fit and reduced him ſo low that his life was in great danger. He was carried home to Sparta in a very weak condition, and did not recover ſtrength enough to appear in the field a long time after.

In the mean time, the Spartans received many loſſes both by ſea and land; but the greateſt was that at Leuctra, which was the firſt time that they were overthrown by the Thebans in a pitched battle. The occaſion of it was this.

The Grecians being all diſpoſed to a general peace, ſent ambaſſadors to Sparta to negotiate it. Among theſe

theſe was Epaminondas the Theban, famous at that time for his wiſdom and learning; but he had not yet given proof of his martial virtues. He ſeeing all the others ſtanding in awe of Ageſilaus, and making court to him, alone maintained his dignity, and ſpoke with freedom in behalf not of Thebes only, but of all Greece, remonſtrating, that war was advantageous only to the Spartans, and that it was deſtructive to the reſt of the Grecians. He adviſed therefore that peace might be made upon equal terms, ſince it could not be rendered laſting but by reducing all to a parity. Ageſilaus perceiving all the other Greeks to hearken attentively to this diſcourſe, and to be pleaſed with it, aſked him "whether he did not think it juſt and "reaſonable that the Bœotians ſhould be permitted to live "in a ſtate of freedom and independence?" Epaminondas with great boldneſs and vivacity returned the queſtion, and aſked Ageſilaus "if he did not think it juſt and rea-"ſonable, that Laconia ſhould be reſtored to the ſame ſtate "of freedom and independence?" Ageſilaus being enraged at this reply, ſtarted up, and preſſed him to declare peremptorily, "if he would agree to an immunity for Bœ-"otia?" And Epaminondas returned the ſame queſtion again, and aſked, "if an immunity would be granted on his "part to Laconia (4)?" Ageſilaus was ſo provoked at this that he gladly laid hold of this pretext to exclude the Thebans from the league, and to declare war againſt them. With the reſt of the Greeks he made a treaty, and diſmiſſed them, ſaying, "That what could be peaceably "adjuſted, ſhould; what was otherwiſe incurable muſt "be determined by war, it being a thing of too great "difficulty to provide for all things by treaty."

The Ephori immediately ſent orders to Cleombrotus, who

(4) For the Thebans were for having all the other cities in Greece reſtored to their liberty, but would at the ſame time keep Bœotia in a ſtate of ſubjection to them; on the other hand the Lacedæmonians were for reſtoring the liberty of Bœotia, but would ſtill remain maſters of Laconia.

(5) It was ſaid that the doors belonging to the temples in Bœotia opened of themſelves; that the prieſteſſes had declared that ſome ſignal victory was approaching in favour of the Bœotians; and that all the armour hung up in the temple of Hercules diſappeared, as if Hercules himſelf was gone to be preſent at the battle. Xenophon adds that moſt people were perſuaded that this was an invention of the leaders.

(6) The

who was at that time in Phocis, to march directly into Bœotia, and at the same time sent to their allies for help. The confederates were very averse to the war, and marched with great reluctance; but as yet they feared the Spartans, and durst not refuse. And though many unfavourable omens and prodigies appeared (5), as I have mentioned in the life of Epaminondas, and though (6) Prothous the Lacedæmonian opposed this expedition, yet Agesilaus could not be prevailed upon to desist, so that the war was decreed. He thought the present juncture of affairs very advantageous for his revenge, the rest of Greece being wholly free, and in league with Sparta, and the Thebans only exempted. But that this war was undertaken more from passion than judgment, appears from the shortness of the time. For the treaty was finished on the fourteenth of Scirophorion [June], and the Lacedæmonians received their great overthrow at Leuctra the fifth of Hecatombæon [July], within twenty days after. There fell at that time a thousand Spartans, and Cleombrotus their King, together with many others of the bravest men of the city; particularly Cleonymus, the son of Sphrodias, that beautiful youth, was thrice struck down at the feet of the King, and as often rose, but was slain at last.

This unexpected blow, which fell so heavy upon the Lacedæmonians, brought greater glory to Thebes, than ever was acquired by any other of the Grecian states in their wars against each other. The behaviour of the Spartans though conquered was, however, as much applauded and admired as that of the victorious Thebans. And indeed, if as Xenophon says, good men even in their gayest conversations, and in their wine, let fall many

(6) The counsel Prothous gave was very just and reasonable; he advised that the army should be disbanded according to their engagement; that all the cities should be ordered to carry their contributions, every one according to its abilities into the temple of Apollo; and that the war should be directed only against those who opposed the liberty of the cities; by which means they would find the God's favour their enterprizes, and the cities would join them with alacrity. But this advice was laughed at; "for, adds Xenophon, it looked as if the Gods "were already urging on the La-"cedæmonians to their destruction.

many remarkable ſayings that are worth preſerving; how much more worthy to be recorded, is an exemplary conſtancy of mind, appearing both in the countenance and behaviour of brave men, when they are preſſed by adverſe fortune? It happened that the Spartans were celebrating a feſtival, and the town was full of ſtrangers who came from other countries to ſee the exerciſes of the youths and virgins who wreſtled naked in the theatre, when this news of the overthrow was brought. The Ephori, though they were ſufficiently aware that this blow had quite ruined the Spartan grandeur and its authority over the reſt of Greece, yet gave orders that the ſports ſhould not break off, nor any of the ceremonies of the feſtival be omitted; but privately ſending the names of the ſlain to each family out of which they were loſt, they continued the publick ſolemnity. The next morning, when they had full intelligence concerning it, and every body knew who were ſlain, and who ſurvived, the fathers and relations of the ſlain came out rejoicing into the market-place, and ſaluted each other with a kind of exultation. On the contrary, the relations of the ſurvivors hid themſelves at home among the women; if neceſſity drove any of them abroad, they went very dejectedly, with downcaſt looks and ſorrowful countenances. The women even outdid the men; ſuch whoſe ſons were ſlain, went immediately to the temples to return thanks to the Gods, and viſited each other with great chearfulneſs and mutual congratulations; but they who expected their children home, were ſilent and dejected.

The common people finding themſelves deſerted by their allies, and being terrified with the news of Epaminondas's deſign of invading Peloponneſus, called to mind that Oracle which related to Ageſilaus's lameneſs, and were deeply diſcouraged, and afraid of the anger of the Gods, thinking that the misfortunes of the city were occaſioned by their having placed a lame

lame King upon the throne, and excluded one whoſe limbs were ſound and perfect; for this, they imagined, the Gods had directed them above all things to avoid. Yet ſuch was their regard to the virtue, authority, and reputation of Ageſilaus, that they threw themſelves upon him in this diſtreſs, as the only man who was fit to heal the publick malady, and not only employed him as their General in war, but referred every difficulty in the civil government to his deciſion. One great difficulty was then before them, concerning thoſe who had fled out of the battle; for they being many and powerful, it was feared that they might make ſome commotion in the republick, to avoid the penalties inflicted on them by the laws for their cowardice. The law in that caſe was very ſevere; for they were not only to be degraded from all honours, but alſo it was a diſgrace to intermarry with them; whoever met any of them in the ſtreets, might beat them if he liſted, nor was it lawful for them to reſiſt; they were obliged to appear publickly in a mean tattered habit, patched of divers colours, and to wear their beards half ſhaved, and half unſhaved. To execute ſo rigid a law as this, when the offenders were ſo many, and had ſuch great intereſt and authority, and that at a time when the commonwealth wanted ſoldiers ſo much as then it did, was of dangerous conſequence. Therefore they choſe Ageſilaus legiſlator, with full power of abrogating old laws, or making new ones as he pleaſed. But he without making any addition, diminution, or change, came into the publick aſſembly, and ſaid, "The law for this day ſhall lye dormant, "but ſhall be executed in its full vigour for the future." By this means he at once preſerved the law from abrogation, and the citizens from infamy. And that he might remove the deſpondency and conſternation which had ſeized the young men, he made an inroad into Arcadia, where he carefully avoided coming to an engagement, and contented himſelf with ravag-

ing the territory, and taking a ſmall town belonging to the Mantineans; thereby reviving the hearts of the people, and letting them ſee that they were not every where unſucceſsful.

Soon after this, Epaminondas and the Theban allies invaded Laconia with an army of forty thouſand ſoldiers, beſide light-armed men and others that followed the camp only for plunder, ſo that in all they were ſeventy thouſand. It was now ſix hundred years ſince the Dorians had poſſeſſed Laconia; and in all that time an enemy had not been ſeen within their territories, no man daring to invade them. But now they made their incurſions without reſiſtance as far as the Eurotas, and the very ſuburbs of Sparta; for Ageſilaus, as Theopompus writes, would not permit the Spartans to oppoſe ſo impetuous a torrent. He contented himſelf with fortifying the chief parts of the city, and placing guards in the moſt important poſts, enduring in the mean time the threats and defiances of the Thebans, who called upon him by name to come and defend his country, which ſuffered theſe miſeries upon his account, as he was the ſole author of the war. Beſide this he was greatly diſturbed at home by tumults in the city, by the outcries and cabals of the old men, who were highly enraged at their preſent condition, and by the wild behaviour of the women, who were terrified even to madneſs by the clamours and the fires of the enemy in the field. And what further diſtreſſed him was the ſenſe of his loſt glory; for he who came to the crown of Sparta when it was in its moſt flouriſhing condition and higheſt grandeur, now lived to ſee its pride humbled, and all its magnificent boaſts confuted, even that which he himſelf had been accuſtomed to utter, "That the "women of Sparta had never ſeen the ſmoke of the "enemy's fire." It is ſaid, that when Antalcidas was once diſputing with an Athenian about the valour of the two nations, the Athenian ſaid, "That they had often "driven the Spartans from the river Cephiſus:" "Yes, ſaid "Antalcidas,

"Antalcidas, but we never drove you from the Eurotas." One of the common people of Sparta being in company with an Argive, who was boasting how many Spartans lay buried in the fields of Argos, replied, "But "you have none buried in the country of Laconia." Some say that Antalcidas, who was one of the Ephori, was so terrified on this occasion that he sent away his children privately to the island of Cythera.

When the enemy attempted to pass the river in order to attack the town, Agesilaus betook himself to the highest part of it which was in the middle, and there he drew up his army. It happened at that time that the Eurotas was swelled to a great height, by reason of the snow that had fallen, which made the passage very difficult to the Thebans, not only from the violence of the stream, but much more from the coldness of the water. Epaminondas was the first person that passed at the head of his infantry, and every where appeared the foremost man in the army; some of the Spartans having showed him to Agesilaus, he looked stedfastly at him for a long time, silently following all his motions with his eyes, and at last uttered only this exclamation, "What heroick spirit and "vigour!" Epaminondas was ambitious to come to an engagement in the city, and to erect a trophy there; but as he could not tempt Agesilaus out of his advantageous post, he was forced to march off again, wasting the country as he went.

In the mean time a conspiracy broke out in Sparta, where two hundred malecontents, who had for a long time concealed their traitorous purposes, and waited for such an opportunity, got into a strong part of the town called Hissorion, where they seized upon the temple of Diana. The Spartans would instantly have fallen upon them; but Agesilaus not knowing how far the sedition might reach, commanded them to forbear; and going himself in his cloak, with but one servant, when he came near the rebels, he called out to them, and said, "You have mistaken my orders. My

" directions were not that you ſhould all go in a body to " that ſtation, but that ſome of you ſhould plant yourſelves " there, and others there ;" at the ſame time pointing out to them different parts of the city. The conſpirators gladly heard this diſcourſe, thinking themſelves not ſuſpected, and readily went off to the places which he ſhowed them. Whereupon Ageſilaus immediately ordered ſome of the troops to poſſeſs themſelves of that poſt, and having cauſed about fifteen of the conſpirators to be apprehended, he commanded that they ſhould be put to death the night following.

After this a much more dangerous conſpiracy was diſcovered of a great number of Spartan citizens, who met privately at a certain place, where they conſulted how to introduce a change in the government. It was equally dangerous, during the preſent confuſion, to proſecute them publickly, and to connive at them. Ageſilaus therefore, by conſent of the Ephori, put them to death privately without proceſs ; a thing never before known in Sparta.

At this time alſo many of the Helots, and other mercenaries, that were liſted in the army, ran away to the enemy, which produced a great conſternation in the city. He therefore cauſed ſome officers, every morning before day, to ſearch the quarters of the ſoldiers, and where any man was gone, to hide his arms, that ſo the greatneſs of the number might not appear.

Hiſtorians differ about the cauſe of the departure of the Thebans from Sparta. Some ſay that the winter forced them ; and that the Arcadian ſoldiers diſbanding, made it neceſſary for the reſt to retire. Others ſay, that they ſtayed there three months, till they had laid waſte the whole country. Theopompus ſays, that when the governors of Bœotia had given orders to decamp, Phrixus the Spartan came and offered the Thebans ten talents from Ageſilaus to purchaſe their retreat ; ſo that, according to him, when they were retiring of their own accord, they received money from

from their enemies to defray the expences of their march. How he alone ſhould come to the knowledge of this particular, I know not. But all authors agree, that Sparta was ſaved from ruin by Ageſilaus, who in this extremity of affairs quitted his two darling paſſions, ambition and obſtinacy, and ſtudied only the ſecurity and preſervation of the city. He could not, however, after this great overthrow, reſtore it to its ancient greatneſs. For as in healthy bodies long uſed to a ſtrict and regular diet, the leaſt deviation from the preſcribed rule is generally fatal; ſo one error deſtroyed the ſtrength and proſperity of this city. And this may be eaſily accounted for. The conſtitution of Sparta was excellently framed for promoting peace, virtue and concord; but when the people began to aim at conqueſt, and to extend their dominions by force of arms contrary to the intention of Lycurgus, who thought that ſuch acquiſitions were of no importance to the happineſs of a ſtate, the conſequence was diſgrace and ruin.

Ageſilaus being now very aged, gave over all military employments; but his ſon Archidamus, having received ſome ſuccours from Dionyſius of Sicily, defeated the Arcadians in an engagement known by the name of the tearleſs battle, wherein there was a great ſlaughter of the enemy without the loſs of one Spartan. This victory did but too much diſcover the preſent weakneſs of Sparta; for formerly victory was eſteemed ſo uſual a thing with them, that for their greateſt ſucceſſes they only ſacrificed a cock to the Gods; the ſoldiers never boaſted, nor were the citizens extravagantly joyful at the news. Nay, when the great victory was obtained at Mantinea, which is deſcribed by Thucydides, the meſſenger that brought the news had no other reward, than a piece of meat which was ſent to him from the publick table. But at the news of this Arcadian victory, they were not able to contain themſelves; the King went out in proceſſion with tears of joy in his eyes, and at-

tended by the magiſtrates, to meet and embrace his ſon. The old men and the women marched out in crouds as far as the river Eurotas, lifting up their hands, and thanking the Gods, as if Sparta had that day waſhed off the ſtain that ſo lately ſtuck upon her, and had juſt then recovered her ancient ſplendor. For we are told that till then the married men durſt not look their wives in the face, through ſhame for their late loſſes.

When Epaminondas was rebuilding Meſſene, and recalling the ancient inhabitants to repeople it, the Spartans durſt not appear in the field to obſtruct it; though they were much concerned at it, and were full of reſentment againſt Ageſilaus for ſuffering ſo large a territory, equal to their own in compaſs, for fertility the richeſt of all Greece, and which they had enjoyed ſo long, to be taken from them in his reign. For this reaſon he refuſed to accept of peace when offered him by the Thebans. He could not be brought to make a formal ceſſion of that which they had already in poſſeſſion. But this obſtinacy had like to have coſt him dear; for he not only failed of recovering that territory, but in the progreſs of the war was over-reached by a ſtratagem, which brought Sparta itſelf into the moſt imminent danger. For when the Mantineans had again revolted from the Thebans to the Lacedæmonians, and Epaminondas underſtood that Ageſilaus was marching to their aſſiſtance with a powerful army, he privately in the night quitted his quarters at Tegea, and unknown to the Mantineans, paſſing by Ageſilaus marched towards Sparta, which he almoſt ſurprized empty and defenceleſs. Ageſilaus being informed of this by Euthynus the Theſpian, according to Callifthenes, or by ſome Cretan according to Xenophon, immediately diſpatched a meſſenger on horſeback to Sparta to advertiſe the citizens of it, and he himſelf arrived ſoon after. In a little time the Thebans appeared, and having paſſed the Eurotas, aſſaulted the town. Ageſilaus received them

them with great courage, and exerted himſelf much beyond what was to be expected from his years. For he did not now fight with that caution which he formerly made uſe of, but rather with a deſparate boldneſs, which (though not his uſual method) ſucceeded ſo well, that he reſcued the city out of the hands of Epaminondas, erected a trophy for his victory, and ſhowed even to the women and children how nobly the Lacedæmonians paid the debt which they owed to their country for their education. Archidamus ſignally diſtinguiſhed himſelf that day both by his courage and his agility, flying from place to place, preſenting himſelf in all the moſt dangerous paſſes, and with a few companions continually repulſing the enemy where they preſſed hardeſt into the town. But the greateſt example of valour was given by Iſadas, the ſon of Phœbidas, to the admiration of the enemy as well as of his friends. He was tall and beautiful, and juſt in that bloom of youth which is the boundary betwixt childhood and manhood. He had neither arms nor clothes to cover him, having juſt before anointed his body with oil. When the alarm was given he ran out immediately with a ſpear in one hand and a ſword in the other, and ruſhed into the thickeſt of his enemies, bearing down all before him. He received no wound, whether he were the particular care of ſome God, who rewarded his valour with an extraordinary protection, or whether he appeared to the enemy to be ſomething more than man. The gallantry of the action was ſo eſteemed among the Spartans, that the Ephori gave him a garland; but afterwards they fined him a thouſand drachmas for going out to battle unarmed.

A few days after this there was another battle fought near Mantinea, wherein Epaminondas having routed the van of the Lacedæmonians, being eager in the purſuit of them, Anticrates the Laconian wounded him with a ſpear, according to Dioſcorides, though others ſay it was with a ſword, which is the moſt probable,

probable, for the Spartans to this day call the poſterity of Anticrates, Machæriones, or ſwordmen, becauſe he ſlew Epaminondas with a ſword. They ſo dreaded Epaminondas when living, that Anticrates was beloved and admired by all; nay, they decreed honours and rewards to him, and to his poſterity an immunity from all taxes. This privilege Callicrates one of his deſcendants now enjoys.

Epaminondas being ſlain, there was a general peace again concluded, from which Ageſilaus excluded the Meſſenians as men that had no city, and therefore would not let them ſwear to the league; to which when the reſt of the Greeks admitted them, the Lacedæmonians broke off, and continued the war alone, in hopes of recovering Meſſenia. For this reaſon Ageſilaus was eſteemed a man of a violent obſtinate diſpoſition, and inſatiably fond of war, who took ſuch pains to hinder the league, and to protract the war at a time when he had not money wherewith to carry it on, but was forced to borrow of the citizens, and to oppreſs them with heavy taxes; whereas it was high time to eaſe them of their burdens, and put an end to their calamities, inſtead of labouring by every method to recover the country of Meſſenia, after he had loſt ſo great an empire both by ſea and land, as the Spartans were poſſeſſed of, when he came to the crown.

But he was ſtill more cenſured for putting himſelf into the ſervice of Tachos the Egyptian (7). It was thought unworthy of him, who was then looked upon as the greateſt man in all Greece, who had filled all countries with his renown, to let out his perſon and reputation to hire to a barbarian, an Egyptian rebel, and to fight for pay, as Captain only of a band of mer-

(7) But this action is not in the leaſt to be condemned, when conſidered as Xenophon, a contemporary author, has related it. He tells us that Ageſilaus being informed that Tachos King of Egypt was raiſing a great army, in order to fall upon the King of Perſia, was pleaſed to find himſelf invited to accept of the command of that army. For he hoped he ſhould by that means

mercenaries. If when he was above eighty years old after his body was worn out with age, and enfeebled with wounds, he had engaged in ſome very honourable cauſe, even for the liberty of Greece, it might have been eſteemed an unſeaſonable ambition and worthy of ſome reproof. For a certain congruity of time and circumſtances is neceſſary to render an action good; nay, it may be ſaid that a juſtneſs of meaſure and degree alone diſtinguiſhes virtue from vice. But Ageſilaus was not governed by theſe conſiderations; he thought no publick employment diſhonourable; the ignobleſt thing in his eſteem was for a man to ſit idle at home, till death overtook him. The money therefore that he received from Tachos, he laid out in hiring ſome mercenary troops; and having filled his ſhips, and taken thirty Spartans with him for his council, as formerly he had done in his Aſiatick expedition, he ſet ſail for Egypt.

As ſoon as he arrived, all the great officers of the kingdom came to pay their compliments to him. His great reputation had raiſed the expectation of the whole country, which flocked to ſee him; but when they found, inſtead of the majeſty and ſplendor which they looked for, a little old man of a contemptible appearance lying down upon the graſs, in a mean garb, they could not refrain from laughter and raillery, crying out, "that this was like the fable of the moun-"tain which brought forth a mouſe." They were much more ſurprized at his abſurdity and ruſticity when the preſents uſually offered to ſtrangers of diſtinction were brought to him; for he took only the meal, the calves, and the geeſe, but rejected the ſweet-meats, the confections and perfumes: and when

means be able to make ſome grateful return to Tachos for his many ſervices to the Lacedæmonians, that he ſhould be able to reſtore the Greek cities in Aſia to their liberty, and revenge the wrongs done the Spartans by the King of Perſia in times paſt, as well as his late ill office in forcing them to give up Meſſene, though at the ſame time he called himſelf their ally.

(8) This

when they urged him to accept them, he ſaid, "They "might carry them to the Helots." Theophraſtus ſays that he was highly pleaſed with the Egyptian Papyrus, becauſe on account of its thinneſs and pliantneſs it was very proper to make garlands; and when he left Egypt, he deſired the King to let him carry ſome of it home with him.

When he joined with Tachos, he found his expectation of being General fruſtrated; Tachos reſerved that place for himſelf, making Ageſilaus only Captain of the mercenaries, and Chabrias the Athenian Admiral. This was the firſt occaſion of his diſcontent; but there followed others; and he was obliged for a conſiderable time to bear with the inſolence and vanity of this Egyptian. At length he was forced to attend on him into Phœnicia, in a condition much below his ſpirit and dignity. However he ſubmitted to it for a while, till he had an opportunity of ſhowing his reſentment. It was ſoon afforded him by Nectanabis, Tachos's own couſin, and a commander under him, who revolted from his uncle, and was proclaimed King by the Egyptians. This man invited Ageſilaus and Chabrias to his party, offering great rewards to both. Tachos being adverti ſed of it, had recourſe to perſuaſions, prayers, and entreaties. Chabrias was prevailed upon, and endeavoured by remonſtrances to reconcile Ageſilaus to Tachos, and keep him firm to his intereſt. But he replied, "You, O Chabrias, came hither a "volunteer, and may go or ſtay as you pleaſe; but I "am the ſervant of Sparta, appointed to head the Æ-"gyptians, and therefore I cannot fight againſt thoſe "to whom I was ſent as a friend, unleſs I am com-"manded to do ſo by my country." At the ſame time he diſpatched meſſengers to Sparta, by whom he accuſed Tachos to the ſenate, and juſtified Nectanabis. The two Ægyptians alſo ſent ambaſſadors to Lacedæmon, to ſollicit the favour of the Spartans, the one as being their old friend and confederate, and the other as

as a perſon already well affected towards them, and whom a ſenſe of gratitude would abſolutely devote to their ſervice. The Spartans having heard both ſides, ſent this publick anſwer, "That they referred the whole "matter to Ageſilaus, and wrote privately to him, to act "as he ſhould find it beſt for the intereſt of the common-"wealth." Upon receipt of his orders, he ſoon changed ſides, and carried all the mercenaries with him to Nectanabis, covering this ſcandalous and unworthy conduct with the plauſible pretence of acting for the benefit of his country; whereas that vail being taken off, the fact deſerves no better name than treachery. But the Lacedæmonians, who make it the firſt principle of virtue to ſerve their country, know not any thing to be juſt or unjuſt by any meaſure but that.

Tachos being thus deſerted by the mercenaries fled; but at the ſame time another Prince of the city of Mendes, put in his claim, and being declared King by his party, marched at the head of a hundred thouſand men againſt Nectanabis. Nectanabis in his diſcourſe with Ageſilaus deſpiſed them as men, who though many in number, were artiſans and tradeſmen, and ſtrangers to martial diſcipline. To whom Ageſilaus anſwered, "That he deſpiſed their numbers, but was "afraid of their ignorance, which gave no room for "deceiving them by art and ſtratagem; for thoſe are "to be uſed only upon cunning and crafty men, who "being ſuſpicious of the enemies deſigns, and forming "others to countermine them, often fall into the ſnare "unadviſedly; but he, who neither ſuſpects nor fears "any thing, gives no more opportunity to the ene-"my, than he who ſtands ſtill gives to a wreſtler." This Mendeſian was not wanting in his ſollicitations to Ageſilaus, ſo that Nectanabis grew ſuſpicious. But when Ageſilaus adviſed him to fight the enemy immediately, and not to protract the war with ſuch men, who though rude and ignorant, would ſo increaſe in numbers, as wholly to encompaſs them, and prevent their deſigns; this confirmed him in his jealouſy, and made

made him take the quite contrary courſe, and retreat into a city fortified with large and ſtrong walls. Ageſilaus finding himſelf miſtruſted, was very much incenſed? yet being aſhamed to change ſides again, or to return home without performing any thing, he was forced to follow Nectanabis, and ſhut himſelf up with him in the town.

When the enemy came up, and began to draw an intrenchment about the town, the Egyptian fearing the event of a ſiege, was reſolving upon a battle; The Greeks were alſo of the ſame opinion, the proviſions growing already ſcarce in the place. When Ageſilaus oppoſed it, the Egyptians ſuſpected him more than ever, and publickly called him a traitor. But Ageſilaus heard all theſe reproaches patiently, and purſued the deſign which he had laid to over-reach the enemy. It was this.

The enemy had drawn a deep ditch about the wall, reſolving to ſhut up the King entirely. When the ditch was brought almoſt quite round, and the two ends were nearly joined together, Ageſilaus waiting for the advantage of the night, ordered all his Greeks to arm: Then going to the King, he ſaid, "This, "young man, is your opportunity of ſaving yourſelf, "which I durſt not all this while diſcover, leſt the diſ-"covery ſhould prevent it; but now the enemy have "by their own labour provided for our ſecurity. As "much of this ditch as is finiſhed will prevent them "from ſurrounding us with their multitude, the gap "yet left will be ſufficient for us to ſally out by: now "follow us, and by fighting valiantly ſave yourſelf "and your army; their front will not be able to "ſtand againſt us, and the ditch will ſecure us from "the reſt." Nectanabis admiring the wiſdom of Ageſilaus, immediately placed himſelf in the Grecian army, and attacked the enemy who were very eaſily defeated. Ageſilaus having now gotten credit with the King, employed again a ſtratagem of the ſame kind againſt the enemy. He ſometimes pretended a retreat,

retreat, and ſometimes turned about and faced them; by which means he at laſt drew their whole army into a place encloſed between two ditches that were very deep and full of water. When he had them at this advantage, he ſoon charged them, drawing up the front of his battle equal to the ſpace between the two ditches, ſo that they had no way of ſurrounding him, being encloſed themſelves on both ſides. They made but little reſiſtance; many fell, the reſt fled and were diſperſed.

Nectanabis being thus ſettled in his kingdom, with great kindneſs and earneſtneſs invited Ageſilaus to ſpend his winter in Egypt: but he made haſte home to aſſiſt in the wars of his own country, whoſe treaſury he knew to be empty, though the Spartans were forced to hire mercenaries. The King diſmiſſed him very honourably and among other gifts, preſented the city of Sparta with two hundred and thirty talents of ſilver, towards the charge of the war. But the winter-ſeaſon coming on, Ageſilaus was driven by a ſtorm upon a deſart ſhore in Africa, called "The "haven of Menelaus," where he expired, being then eighty four years old, of which he had reigned forty one in Lacedæmon. The firſt thirty years of his reign he paſſed in great ſplendor, being eſteemed the moſt powerful Prince of all Greece, and conſidered in it as King and commander in chief, till the battle, of Leuctra. It was the cuſtom of the Spartans to bury perſons of ordinary rank in the place where they died, whatſoever country it was, but their kings they embalmed and carried home. The attendants of Ageſilaus not having proper materials to embalm him, for want of honey which they commonly uſed, wrapped his body in wax, and ſo conveyed him to Lacedæmon.

His

His ſon Archidamus ſucceeded him in his throne, (8) ſo did his poſterity ſucceſſively to Agis, the fifth from Ageſilaus; who was murdered by Leonidas, for attempting to reſtore the ancient diſcipline of Sparta.

(8) This is the genealogy.

Ageſilaus
|
Archidamus
|
Agis II. and Eudamidas.

Agis dying without children, his brother Eudamidas ſucceeded, and had a ſon named Archidamus.

Archidamus IV.
|
Eudamidas II.
|
Agis III.

POMPEY.

POMPEY.

THE people of Rome ſeem to have been affected towards Pompey, even from his early youth, in the ſame manner as Prometheus in the tragedy of Æſchylus is towards Hercules, when after he had been releaſed by him, he ſays,

Thou deareſt offspring of an hated ſire! (1)

For

(1) Æſchylus wrote two tragedies, one called Προμηθεὺς δεσμώτης, Prometheus in chains, and the other Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος, Prometheus releaſed. The latter is loſt, there being only ſome fragments of it remaining. It is from this piece that the line here quoted is taken. For Jupiter had chained Prometheus to the rocks of mount Caucaſus, from whence Hercules had releaſed him.

For on one hand never did the Romans ſhow ſuch a violent and bitter hatred againſt any of their generals, as they did againſt Strabo, the father of Pompey. During his lifetime, it is true, they ſtood in awe of his power as a General, for he had great military talents; but immediately upon his death, which happened by a thunderbolt, they dragged his corpſe from the herſe, as it was carried to interment, and treated it with the greateſt indignity. On the other ſide, never did any Roman experience the affection of the people, earlier begun, more conſtantly attending his proſperity, or more ſteadily continued in his adverſity, than Pompey. In Strabo there was one great cauſe of their hatred, his inſatiable covetouſneſs; but in Pompey there were many qualities for which they loved him; (2) his temperance, his application to martial exerciſes, his eloquence, his integrity, his affability and graceful behaviour; ſo that no man was leſs burdenſome to thoſe from whom he aſked favours, or to thoſe on whom he conferred them: when he gave, it was without arrogance; and when he received, it was with dignity.

In his youth his countenance was extremely engaging, and prejudiced in his favour thoſe who addreſſed him, even before he ſpoke. The ſweetneſs of his aſpect was ſuch as expreſſed dignity combined with gentleneſs and humanity; and amid the bloom of youth he had an auguſt and majeſtick air which commanded reſpect. His hair was naturally ſomewhat erect, and the ſhining moiſture and lively motion of his eyes gave him a reſemblance of Alexander, according to the deſcriptions we have of him, much greater than

(2) Velleius Paterculus has given us a fine deſcription of him. "Formâ excellens," ſays he, "non "ea qua flos commendatur ætatis, "ſed ex dignitate conſtante, quæ in "illam conveniens amplitudinem, "fortunam quoque ejus, ad ulti- "mum vitæ comitata eſt diem. In- "nocentiâ eximius, ſanctitato præ- "cipuus, eloquentia medius, po- "tentiæ, quæ honoris, cauſa ad "eum deferretur, non ut ab eo oc- "cuparetur, cupidiſſimus: dux "bello peritiſſimus, civis in toga, "niſi ubi verretur ne quem haberet "parem modeſtiſſimus. Amiciti- "arum

than appears in the ſtatues of that Prince. Some therefore gave him that name in earneſt, with which he was not diſpleaſed; others called him ſo in deriſion; and it is ſaid that (3) Lucius Philippus, a man of conſular dignity, when he was one day pleading in his favour, ſaid "it was no wonder that Philip ſhould be a "lover of Alexander.

It is reported of Flora the courtezan, that when ſhe was advanced in years ſhe took great delight in relating her amours with Pompey, and uſed to ſay, that ſhe could never part with him after he had lain with her without giving him a bite. She alſo ſaid, that one Geminius, an intimate friend of Pompey, fell in love with her, and was very importunate in his addreſſes. When ſhe refuſed to comply, and told him that ſhe could not gratify his deſires for Pompey's ſake, he applied to Pompey, who freely gave his conſent; but he never afterwards would touch her, or have any converſe with her, though he ſeemed to retain a ſtrong paſſion for her. This Flora reſented, but not with the levity of a ſtrumpet, for ſhe languiſhed afterwards under a tedious ſickneſs through grief and deſire. Flora was however ſo celebrated for her beauty, that Cæcilius Metellus, when he adorned the temples of Caſtor and Pollux with ſtatues and pictures, dedicated her picture among the reſt. But Pompey's ſelf-denial never appeared in a ſtronger light, than in his deportment towards the wife of Demetrius his enfranchiſed ſervant, who had a great influence upon him in his lifetime, and left an eſtate of four thouſand talents behind him; for contrary to his natural diſpoſition he behaved towards her with great

"arum tenax, in offenſis exora-
"bilis, in reconcilianda gratia
"fideliſſimus, &c." He adds that he would have been clear of all faults but for that one which would not ſuffer him to bear an equal.

(3) L. Martius Philippus, one of the greateſt orators of his time. He was father-in-law to Auguſtus, having married his mother Attia. Horace makes mention of him, Lib. i. Epiſt. vii.

great rudeneſs and incivility, that he might not appear to be captivated with her beauty, which was very uncommon, and was eſteemed irreſiſtible. But notwithſtanding his caution and circumſpection in matters of this nature, he could not avoid the calumnies of his enemies, who accuſed him of carrying on intrigues with ſome married women, for whoſe ſake he often neglected the buſineſs of the publick.

As to his ſobriety and temperance in diet, there is one remarkable inſtance of it related. In a fit of ſickneſs when his ſtomach nauſeated common meats, his phyſician preſcribed him a thruſh to eat; but upon ſearch, there was none to be bought, for they were not then in ſeaſon; and when ſome perſon told him, they were to be had at Lucullus's, who kept them all the year round: "What," ſaid he, "if it were not for "Lucullus's luxury, muſt not Pompey live?" Therefore diſmiſſing his phyſician, he contented himſelf with ſuch meat as could eaſily be procured. But this happened afterwards.

When he was a very young man, and ſerved in an expedition in which his father was appointed General againſt Cinna, he had a companion with him in his tent, one Lucius Terentius, who being corrupted by Cinna, entered into an engagement to kill Pompey, as others had done to ſet the General's tent on fire. This conſpiracy being diſcovered to Pompey at ſupper, he ſeemed not at all diſcompoſed at it, but drank more freely than uſual, and expreſſed an extraordinary kindneſs to Terentius; till about bed-time, pretending to go to his reſpoſe, he ſtole away ſecretly out of his own tent, and ſetting a guard about his father, quietly expected the event. Terentius when he thought it was time to put his enterprize in execution, roſe and drew his ſword, and coming to Pompey's bedſide, pierced through the bedcloaths ſeveral times as if he were lying there. Immediately upon this there was a great uproar throughout all the camp, ariſing from the hatred the ſoldiers bore to the General, and an

univerſal

univerſal inclination to revolt, all tearing down their tents, and betaking themſelves to their arms. The General himſelf all this while durſt not venture out becauſe of the tumult, but Pompey running into the midſt of them, beſought them with tears to return, and at laſt threw himſelf proſtrate upon his face before the gate of the camp, and lay there weeping in the paſſage, and bidding thoſe that were marching off, if they would go, to trample upon him: whereupon every man began to retreat, and all except eight hundred, through ſhame and compaſſion, repented of their folly, and were reconciled to the General.

Immediately upon the death of Strabo, who was charged with having embezzled the publick treaſure, there was an action commenced againſt Pompey as his heir. But Pompey having with great labour traced the theft, charged it upon one Alexander, an enfranchiſed ſlave of his father's, and clearly proved before the judges that he had purloined and converted it to his own uſe. Afterwards he himſelf was arraigned, for having ſeized ſome hunting-nets and books that were taken at Aſculum. He acknowledged indeed that he received them from his father when he took Aſculum, but ſaid, that he had loſt them ſince; which happened upon Cinna's return to Rome, when his houſe was broke open and plundered by his guards. In this cauſe he had a great many preparatory pleadings againſt his accuſer, in which he ſhowed an accuteneſs and ſteadineſs of mind beyond his years, which gained him great reputation; ſo that Antiſtius the Prætor, who was the principal judge in that cauſe, conceived ſuch an affection for Pompey, that he offered him his daughter in marriage, and ſpoke to his friends on the ſubject. Pompey accepted the offer, and they were privately contracted. However this affair was not managed ſo privately as to eſcape the multitude, but it was diſcernible enough from the favour that was ſhown him by Antiſtius; and at laſt, when Antiſtius pro-

nounced the abſolutory ſentence of the judges, the people (as if it had been upon a ſignal given) made the ſame acclamation that had been uſed at marriages even from the earlieſt times, crying out Talaſio. The original of that cuſtom is reported to be this. When the daughters of the Sabines came to Rome, to ſee the ſhows and ſports there, and were violently ſeized upon by the nobles for wives, it happened that ſome herdſmen of mean rank were carrying off a tall and beautiful virgin; and leſt any of the nobles ſhould meet them, and take her away, as they ran they cried out with one voice Talaſio. Talaſius was a perſon of diſtinction and very much beloved; ſo that all who heard the name, clapped their hands, and joined in the ſhout, as applauding and congratulating him. And they ſay that becauſe that proved a fortunate match to Talaſius therefore this acclamation is jocularly uſed as a nuptial ſong at all weddings. This is the moſt credible account that I can meet with touching Talaſio (4).

Some few days after this ſentence was pronounced, Pompey married Antiſtia. He then went to Cinna's camp, where finding that ſome falſe accuſations were raiſed againſt him, he began to be afraid, and withdrew privately. This ſudden diſappearance occaſioned a rumour throughout the whole army that Cinna had murdered the young man; upon which all that had been diſobliged by him and hated him, reſolved to make an aſſault upon him. As he was endeavouring to make his eſcape, he was ſeized by a centurion, who purſued him with his naked ſword. Cinna falling upon his knees, offered him a ſeal of great value for his ranſom; but the centurion replied very inſolently, "I come not here to ſeal a covenant, but to be "revenged upon a lawleſs and wicked tyrant," and ſo diſpatched him immediately.

Cinna being ſlain in this manner was ſucceeded by Carbo,

(4) See ſome further account of this cuſtom in the life of Romulus, Vol. I. p. 68.

(5) The

Carbo, a more violent and furious tyrant, than he. But ſhortly after Sylla returned into Italy, a man deſired by the greateſt part of the Romans, who under their preſent calamities thought it a great happineſs even to change their maſter. For the city was reduced ſo low by thoſe grievous oppreſſions, that every man utterly deſpairing of liberty, only conſidered now which was the mildeſt and moſt tolerable bondage.

About that time Pompey was at Picenum in Italy, where he had an eſtate; but the chief motive of his abode in that country, was the hereditary affection of the cities there, which his family had enjoyed for many generations. When he perceived that the nobleſt and beſt of the citizens began to forſake their habitations, and fly from all quarters to Sylla's camp as to their haven, he determined likewiſe to repair thither among the reſt, but diſdained to go alone as a fugitive, or one who wanted protection; he choſe rather to oblige Sylla at his very firſt ſetting out, and to render himſelf ſerviceable to him by appearing before him at the head of an army. To that end he ſolicited the Picentines for their aſſiſtance, who cordially embraced his motion, and rejected thoſe that were ſent from Carbo; ſo that when one Vindius ſaid that "Pompey from "a ſchool-boy was ſuddenly become their chief ora-"tor and commander," they were ſo incenſed againſt him, that immediately they fell upon him, and ſlew him. Soon after this Pompey, though as yet not above twenty-three years of age, without being nominated to the command by any other perſon, aſſumed to himſelf a full power and juriſdiction. He cauſed a tribunal to be erected in the market-place of Auximum, a populous city, and baniſhed from thence by an edict two of the principal men, the Ventidii, who were brothers, and of Carbo's faction. He then levied ſoldiers and gave commiſſions to centurions and other officers, according to the form of military diſcipline. In this manner he went round, and model-

led all the reſt of the cities thereabouts; ſo that as thoſe who were of Carbo's faction fled, and all others chearfully ſubmitted to his command, in a little time he collected three entire legions; and having ſupplied himſelf with all manner of proviſions, beaſts of burden, carriages, and all other implements of war, he ſet forwards on his march towards Sylla, not in haſte, nor as if he was deſirous to be concealed, but frequently halting upon the road, in order to diſtreſs and annoy the enemy, and to perſuade the inhabitants of thoſe parts of Italy through which he paſſed to revolt from Carbo.

There were three commanders on the enemy's ſide, Carinnas, Cœlius, and Brutus, who oppoſed him at the ſame time, and drew up their forces, not all in the front, nor yet together on any one part, but encamping three ſeveral armies in a circle about him, they reſolved to encompaſs and deſtroy him at once. Pompey was not at all intimidated; but drawing up all his forces into one body, and placing his horſe in the front of the battle, where he himſelf was in perſon, he bent all his forces againſt Brutus. The enemy's horſe which conſiſted chiefly of Gauls, reſolutely came on to the attack; but Pompey ſingling out their commander, a brave and gallant officer, encountered him hand to hand, and watching his opportunity, made a home thruſt at him with his lance, and ſlew him. The reſt ſeeing this, turned their backs, and fled in great diſorder, breaking the ranks of their own infantry, ſo that a total rout enſued. Upon this the commanders fell out among themſelves, and they marched off, each a different way, as chance directed them. The towns round about ſurrendered to Pompey, when they ſaw that the enemy was diſperſed for fear. Some time after Scipio the Conſul came to attack him; but before the armies could join, or were within reach of each others darts, Scipio's ſoldiers ſaluted Pompey's, and came over to them. Scipio made his eſcape by flight. Laſt of all, Carbo himſelf

ſelf ſent down ſeveral bodies of horſe by the river Arſis, which Pompey attacked with the ſame courage and ſucceſs as before; for having routed and put them to flight, he forced them in the purſuit into a rough uneven place, altogether unpaſſable for horſe, where ſeeing no hopes of eſcape, they ſurrendered themſelves with their horſes and arms.

Sylla was hitherto unacquainted with all theſe exploits; but as ſoon as common fame had brought him the firſt intelligence of them, he was extremely concerned, fearing leſt Pompey ſhould be overpowered by ſo many and ſuch experienced commanders, and marched with all ſpeed to his aſſiſtance. Pompey having advice of his approach, gave orders to his officers, that the ſoldiers ſhould be compleatly armed and drawn up in order of battle, that they might appear to the greateſt advantage before their General; for he expected indeed great honours from him, but he met with greater; for as ſoon as Sylla ſaw him advancing with an army compoſed of ſoldiers well made and of a manly appearance, and whoſe joy for their ſucceſs had encreaſed the boldneſs and livelineſs of their aſpect, he alighted from his horſe, and being firſt ſaluted by the title of Imperator, as indeed he had a right to be, he returned the ſame ſalutation to Pompey, contrary to the expectation of all that were preſent, who little imagined that he would have given to one ſo young, and who was not yet a ſenator, a title ſo honourable, and for which he had ſo deſperately contended againſt the factions of Scipio and Marius. And indeed all the reſt of his deportment was agreeable to his firſt compliments; for whenever Pompey came into his preſence, he roſe up and uncovered his head, which he was rarely ſeen to do to any other perſon, though he had many with him of great valour, as well as noble birth. Pompey however was not elated with theſe favours: and when Sylla would have ſent him into Gaul, a province under the government

ment of Metellus, becauſe Metellus had done nothing worthy of that great army he commanded there, Pompey replied, "That it could never be thought juſt or "honourable for him to extort a province out of the hand of "an ancient General, and one of ſo much greater fame and "experience than himſelf; however if Metellus were will-"ing, and would command his ſervice, he ſhould be very "ready to accompany and aſſiſt him in the war." When Metellus had accepted his offer, and given him an invitation by letter, Pompey marched immediately into Gaul, where he not only performed wonderful exploits himſelf, but alſo blew up and rekindled that bold and warlike ſpirit, which old age had in a manner extinguiſhed in Metellus; juſt as melted copper when poured upon that which is cold and ſolid, diſſolves it faſter than fire itſelf. But as it is not uſual to record the victories obtained in childhood by a wreſtler who afterwards diſtinguiſhes himſelf among men, and wins the prize from all his antagoniſts in the publick games; in the ſame manner, though the early exploits of Pompey were great in themſelves, yet as they were obſcured and buried in the multitude and greatneſs of his later wars and conqueſts, I dare not be particular in deſcribing them, leſt by ſpending too much time upon his youthful atchievements, I ſhould be tempted to omit thoſe greater actions and enterprizes which beſt diſcover his genius and diſpoſition.

When Sylla had brought all Italy under his dominion, and was proclaimed Dictator, he began to reward the reſt of his followers by giving them eſtates and advancing them to places of honour and truſt, largely and liberally gratifying every man according to his deſire. But as he held Pompey's virtue and great qualities in the higheſt admiration, and thought that he might prove a great ſupport to him hereafter in all his deſigns, he was very ſolicitous to contract an alliance with him; and having likewiſe the approbation of his wife Metella, he perſuaded him to divorce Antiſtia, and marry Æmilia (the daughter in-law of Sylla,

Sylla, by Metella, and Scaurus her former husband, though she was at that very time the wife of another man, and with child by him. This was a very tyrannical marriage; and it was much more agreeable to the times of Sylla, than to the nature and genius of Pompey, that Æmilia when big with child should be ravished from the embraces of another upon his account, and that Antistia should be divorced dishonourably and cruelly by him for whose sake she had been but just before bereft of her father; for her father Antistius was murdered in the senate, because he was suspected to be a favourer of Sylla for Pompey's sake. Her mother when she saw these indignities, put an end to her own life. And that there might be nothing wanting to complete the tragedy of this marriage, Æmilia herself not long after died in childbed at Pompey's house.

About this time Sylla was informed that Perpenna had possessed himself of Sicily, whereby that island was now become a refuge for those who survived of the adverse party; that Carbo was hovering about those seas with a navy; that Domitius had invaded Africa; and that many of the exiled nobles, who fled before they were proscribed, were daily flocking to those parts. Against these therefore was Pompey sent with a great army; and no sooner was he arrived in Sicily, but Perpenna departed thence, leaving the whole island to him. Pompey received the distressed cities into favour, and treated them all with great humanity, except that of the Mamertines in Messene; for when they protested against his jurisdiction, alledging their privilege and exemption founded upon an ancient grant of the Romans, he replied, "What! will you "never leave quoting laws to us who have our swords "by our sides?" It is thought likewise, that he showed but little humanity to Carbo, and seemed to insult over his misfortunes. For if there had been a necessity (as perhaps there was) that he should be put to death, that ought to have been done at first, as soon

as

as he was taken priſoner, for then it would have been the act of him that commanded it. But Pompey ordered a man who had been thrice Conſul of Rome to be brought in fetters to the bar, and he himſelf ſitting upon the bench, examined the cauſe, and pronounced ſentence of death upon him as upon a common malefactor, to the grief and indignation of all that were preſent; after which he commanded him to be taken away and put to death. It is reported of Carbo, that as ſoon as he ſaw the ſword drawn for execution, he deſired a little reſpite, and a convenient place to eaſe himſelf, he being ſuddenly ſeized with a looſeneſs. (5) Caius Oppius, a particular friend of Cæſar, tells us, that Pompey dealt as barbarouſly with Quintus Valerius, a man of ſingular learning; for when he was brought to him, he took him aſide, and diſcourſed with him; and after a long conference, and full ſolution of all his queſtions, he ordered his officers to take him away, and put him to death. But we muſt be very cautious in believing what Oppius relates concerning the friends or enemies of Cæſar. This is certain, that there lay a neceſſity upon Pompey to be ſevere upon thoſe of Sylla's enemies, who were perſons of eminence, and were publickly taken; but as to the reſt, he as far as he was able, connived at the concealment of ſome, and himſelf aſſiſted others to eſcape. When he had determined to puniſh ſeverely the city of the Himeræans, becauſe they ſided with the enemy, Sthennius one of their orators craving audience of Pompey, told him, "That it was unjuſt to paſs by the guilty, and to "puniſh the innocent." When Pompey aſked him whom he meant by "the guilty," Sthennius replied, "myſelf; for "I perſuaded my friends, and forced my enemies to act as "they have done." Pompey being much pleaſed with his freedom and boldneſs of ſpeech as well as with his magnanimy

(5) The ſame that wrote an account of the Spaniſh war. He was likewiſe the author of ſeveral other works, among which was that of the lives of illuſtrious men; for his life of Caſſius, of the firſt Scipio Africanus, and of Marius, are quoted by other writers.

magnanimity, firſt forgave him his crime, and then pardoned all the reſt of the Himeræans. Pompey likewiſe hearing that his ſoldiers were very diſorderly in their march, and committed great outrages, ordered their ſwords to be ſealed up in their ſcabbards; and thoſe who did not keep the ſeal entire were ſeverely puniſhed.

Whilſt Pompey was thus buſy in ſettling the affairs of Sicily, he received a decree of the ſenate, and a commiſſion from Sylla, commanding him to ſail into Africa, and make war upon Domitius with all his forces. For Domitius had collected a far greater army than Marius had not long before, when he ſailed out of Africa into Italy, and extremely diſtreſſed the Romans, being of a fugitive outlaw, become a tyrant. Pompey therefore having with great diſpatch made the neceſſary preparations, and left Memmius, his ſiſter's huſband, Governor of Sicily, ſet ſail with an hundred and twenty gallies, and eight hundred other veſſels, laden with proviſions, money, arms, and military machines. Part of his fleet arrived at Utica, and part at Carthage; and no ſooner was he landed, but ſeven thouſand of the enemy revolted to him. The army which he brought with him conſiſted of ſix entire legions. They tell us of a pleaſant accident that happened to him at his firſt arrival. Some of his ſoldiers having found a conſiderable treaſure, the reſt imagined that the field was full of gold and ſilver, which had been hid there formerly by the Carthaginians in the time of their calamities; ſo that the army was uſeleſs to Pompey for many days, being totally engaged in digging for the fancied treaſure, he himſelf all the while walking up and down only, and laughing to ſee ſo many thouſands together digging and turning up the earth. But at laſt, growing

writers. Suetonius reckons him among the moſt intimate of Cæſar's friends, and to ſhow how zealous he was for him, he ſays that he had written a treatiſe on purpoſe to prove that Cæſario was not the ſon of Cæſar, as Cleopatra pretended.

(6) This

ing weary and hopeleſs, they came to their General, begging him "to lead them where he pleaſed, they having "been ſufficiently puniſhed for their folly."

When Domitius had prepared himſelf, and drawn up his army in order of battle againſt Pompey, there happened to be a deep channel betwixt them, which was craggy, and difficult to paſs over; this, together with a great ſtorm of wind and rain which began in the morning and continued the reſt of the day, ſeemed to ſhow but little probability of their coming to an engagement. Domitius therefore commanded his forces to draw off and retire to their camp. But Pompey thinking this a favourable opportunity, ordered his men to march immediately; and having paſſed over the channel, they fell upon the enemy, who fought in a very confuſed tumultuous manner, they not being all collected together, nor ranged in order; beſides, the wind having veered about, beat the rain full in their faces. The ſtorm was alſo very troubleſome to the Romans, and hindered them from clearly diſcerning one another; ſo that even Pompey himſelf, being unknown, and being ſlow in his anſwer to one of his ſoldiers who aſked him the word, was in great danger of his life.

The enemy being routed with a great ſlaughter, (for it is ſaid, that of twenty thouſand there eſcaped but three thouſand) the army ſaluted Pompey by the title of Imperator; but he declined it, telling them, "That he could not by any means accept of that title, as "long as the enemy's camp remained untouched; but if "they deſigned to make him worthy the honour, that was "firſt to be demoliſhed." The ſoldiers hearing this, immediately aſſaulted the trenches; and there Pompey fought without his helmet, to avoid the danger to which he had been expoſed before. The camp was taken, and Domitius was ſlain upon the place. After that overthrow, Pompey made himſelf maſter of all the cities thereabouts, ſome being ſurrendered, and others taken by ſtorm. King Hiarbas likewiſe, a confede-

rate

rate and auxiliary of Domitius, was taken priſoner, and his kingdom given to Hiempſal.

Pompey being ambitious to improve the good fortune and valour of his army, invaded Numidia, and marching forward many days journey into the country, he conquered all where-ever he came, reſolving that by his means the Roman name, which began to be ſlighted among the barbarous nations, ſhould again appear as formidable as ever; nay, he ſaid, "That "the wild beaſts of Africa ought not to be left without "ſome experience of the courage and ſucceſs of the Ro-"mans;" and therefore he ſpent a few days in hunting lions and elephants. It is ſaid, that within the ſpace of forty days at moſt, he gave a total overthrow to the enemy, reduced Africa, and ſettled the affairs of the kings of all that country, though he was then but twenty-four years of age.

When Pompey returned to Utica, he received letters from Sylla, commanding him to diſband the reſt of his army, and with one legion only to wait there till another General came to ſucceed him. This was extremely mortifying to Pompey, though he did not ſuffer his diſcontent to appear; but the army reſented it openly, and when Pompey beſought them to depart home before him, they began to revile Sylla, and ſaid, "That they were reſolved not to forſake him, nei-"ther did they think it ſafe for him to truſt the tyrant." Notwithſtanding this, Pompey endeavoured to appeaſe and pacify them; but when he ſaw that all his perſuaſions were vain, he left the tribunal, and retired to his tent with tears in his eyes; but the ſoldiers followed him, and ſeizing upon him, by force brought him back to the tribunal; where great part of that day was ſpent in diſpute, they perſuading him to ſtay and command them, and he on the other ſide, preſſing them to be obedient and not to raiſe a mutiny. But at laſt, when they grew more importunate and clamorous, he ſwore, "That he would kill himſelf if "they attempted to force him;" and yet even this

would

would ſcarcely appeaſe them. The firſt news that Sylla received was that Pompey had revolted; upon which he ſaid to ſome of his friends, "I ſee then it is my "deſtiny to contend with children in my old age:" for Marius when very young had greatly embaraſſed him, and brought him into extreme danger. But Sylla being undeceived afterwards by a better intelligence, and finding that the whole city had deſigned to meet Pompey, and receive him with the greateſt kindneſs and reſpect, he himſelf endeavoured to exceed them all in civility, and therefore going out foremoſt to meet him, and embracing him with great eagerneſs, he ſaluted him aloud with the title of Pompey the Great, and commanded all thoſe that were preſent to call him by that name. Others ſay, that he had this title firſt given him by a general acclamation of the army in Africa, but that it was confirmed and ratified by Sylla. It is certain however, that he himſelf was the laſt that owned the title; for it was a long time after, when he was ſent Proconſul into Spain againſt Sertorius, that he began to ſubſcribe himſelf in his letters and commiſſions by the name of Pompey the Great; for then the invidiouſneſs of the title was worn off by its being common and familiar. Hence the wiſdom of the ancient Romans may be juſtly reverenced and admired; for they not only rewarded martial courage and ſucceſs in war with ſuch honourable titles, but adorned likewiſe the virtues and ſervices of eminent men in the civil government with the ſame diſtinctions and characters of honour; accordingly the people gave the names of Maximus, i. e. Greateſt, to two perſons, to (6) Valerius, for having reconciled the ſenate to the people when they were at variance, and to (7) Fabius Rullus, for having expelled from

(6) This was Marcus Valerius, the brother of Valerius Poplicola, who was Dictator. This happened in the year of Rome 260, four hundred and twelve years before Pompey's ſervices in Africa.

(7) This honour was not beſtowed on Fabius Rullus for the reaſon here aſſigned. See Vol. II. p. 54. n. 4.

(8) This

from the ſenate ſome ſons of enfranchiſed ſlaves, who had been elected into it on account of their riches.

Pompey upon his return to Rome deſired the honour of a triumph, which Sylla oppoſed, alledging, "That the "law allowed that honour to none but conſuls and præ- "tors (8); that therefore Scipio the elder, who ſubdued "the Carthaginians in Spain in far greater and nobler con- "flicts, never petitioned for a triumph, becauſe he was "neither Conſul nor Prætor; and that if Pompey, whoſe "beard was hardly grown, and who was not yet of age to "be a ſenator, ſhould enter the city in triumph, ſuch an "honour would both expoſe him to envy and render Sylla's "government odious." Theſe were the arguments Sylla uſed againſt Pompey, at the ſame time declaring that he would not ſuffer him to triumph, but that if he ſtill perſiſted in his pretenſions, he would forcibly reſtrain his obſtinacy and ambition. Pompey was not at all terrified, but bid Sylla conſider "that more worſhipped "the riſing than the ſetting ſun;" intimating that his power was encreaſing, and Sylla's on the decline. Sylla did not perfectly hear the words; but obſerving a ſort of amazement and wonder in the looks and geſtures of thoſe that did hear them, he aſked what it was he ſaid: when it was told him, he was very much ſurprized at the boldneſs of Pompey, and cried out twice together, "Let him triumph, let him triumph." But when others began to ſhow their reſentment and diſdain, Pompey, as it is ſaid, to mortify them the more, deſigned to have his chariot drawn by four elephants, having brought over ſeveral which he had taken from the African kings; but the gates of the city being too narrow, he was forced to deſiſt from that project, and make uſe of horſes. Some of his ſoldiers, who had failed of ſome reward which they expected,

(8) This is what Livy tell us in expreſs terms, Lib. xxxi. ſpeaking of L. Cornelius Lentulus. "L. "Cornelio Lentulo triumphus ne- "gatus eſt: res triumpho dignas "eſſe cenſebat ſenatus, ſed exem- "plum a majoribus non accepiſſe, "ut qui neque Dictator, neque "Conſul, neque Prætor rem geſſiſ- "ſet, triumpharet.

expected, began to clamour, and were disposed to prevent the triumph; but Pompey said "that he regarded "them not, and that he had rather lose his triumph, than "flatter them." Upon this Servilius, a person of great quality, and at first one of the chiefest opposers of Pompey's triumph, said, "Now I perceive that Pompey is "truly great, and worthy of a triumph." It is not to be doubted that he might easily have been made a senator at that time if he would, yet he did not sue for that, being ambitious of more unusual honours. For it would not have been surprizing for Pompey to sit in the senate before his time; but to triumph before he was of the senate, was an honour altogether unusual and singular.

This triumph did not a little ingratiate him with the people; for they were extremely pleased to see him after his triumph take his place again among the Roman knights. But it was very ungrateful to Sylla to see how fast he advanced in power and reputation; however he continued quiet, being ashamed to oppose him. But when by force, and against Sylla's will, Pompey procured the Consulship for (9) Lepidus, having by his own interest brought him into favour with the people, Sylla seeing him after the election crossing the Forum with a great train after him, said to him, "I see, young "man, you rejoice in your conquest; and surely it was a "noble action to employ your interest with the people to "nominate Lepidus to the Consulship before Catulus, and "to prefer the worst to the best of men. But take care not "to slumber; you must now exert your utmost vigilance "and attention; for you have raised a dangerous enemy "to greater power than yourself." But that which gave the clearest demonstration of Sylla's dislike to Pompey, was his last will; for though he had bequeathed several legacies to all the rest of his friends, and appointed some of them guardians to his son, he took no notice of Pompey. However Pompey bore this with great

(9) M. Æmilus Lepidus who by Pompey's interest was declared Consul

great moderation; so that when Lepidus and others obstructed his interment in the Campus Martius, and would not allow him to be buried publickly, he came and attended the funeral himself, and by his presence gave it both honour and security.

Shortly after the death of Sylla, that prophetick speech of his to Pompey concerning Lepidus was fulfilled. For Lepidus usurped the authority that Sylla had, not in an indirect manner or on specious pretences; but he immediately took up arms, having stirred up again, and called into his assistance the broken remains of Marius's faction that had escaped the vengeance of Sylla. Catulus his collegue, who was followed by the best and most uncorrupt part of the senate and people, was a man the most esteemed of any among the Romans for his temperance and justice; but his talents were rather political than military. As the exigency of affairs required therefore that Pompey should interpose, he was not long in suspence which party he should follow, but joining with the nobility, was appointed General of the army against Lepidus, who had already over-run the greatest part of Italy, and likewise taken possession of Gallia Cisalpina with an army under the conduct of Brutus. As for the rest of his garrisons, Pompey subdued them with ease in his march, but Mutina in Gaul engaged him in a formal siege; and he lay a long time there encamped against Brutus. In the mean time Lepidus marched in all haste against Rome, and sitting down before it with a mixed rabble, which he had collected from all quarters, demanded a second Consulship, and struck no small terror into the besieged. But their fear quickly vanished, upon receiving some letters from Pompey, which informed them that he had ended the war without a battle. For Brutus, either betraying his army, or being betrayed by them, surrendered himself to Pompey, who ordered a party of horse

Consul with Q. Lutatius Catulus in the year of Rome 675.

horſe to conduct him to a little town on the Po, where he was ſlain the next day by Geminius, whom Pompey ſent thither for that purpoſe. Upon this, Pompey was ſeverely cenſured; for having at firſt written to the ſenate, and informed them, that Brutus had voluntarily ſurrendered himſelf, he afterwards ſent other letters, containing matters of accuſation againſt the man, after he had put him to death. This Brutus was the father of him, who together with Caſſius ſlew Cæſar, and who neither in war, nor in his death, was like his father, as we have mentioned in his life. Lepidus upon this being driven out of Italy, fled to Sardinia, where he fell ſick and died of grief, not on account of theſe misfortunes, but as it is ſaid, becauſe he happened to meet with a letter which diſcovered to him his wife's infidelity.

During theſe tranſactions Sertorius, a commander very unlike to Lepidus, had poſſeſſed himſelf of Spain, and was grown formidable to the Romans; all the remains of the preceding civil wars being collected in him, juſt as vicious humours in a dangerous diſeaſe, flow all together to one diſtempered part. This man had already deſtroyed ſeveral inferior commanders, and was now engaged with Metellus Pius, a General of great merit and reputation, though perhaps he might now ſeem too ſlow by reaſon of his age, to improve the happier moments of war, and might ſometimes loſe the advantages he had as Sertorius by his quickneſs and activity was continually ready to wreſt them out of his hands: for he was always hovering about, and coming upon him unawares, like a Captain of thieves rather than ſoldiers, and harraſſing him perpetually with ambuſcades, and light ſkirmiſhes; whereas Metellus was accuſtomed to nothing but regular conduct, and to fighting in battle array with his legionary ſoldiers. Pompey therefore having his army in readineſs, uſed all his intereſt that he might be ſent to the aſſiſtance of Metellus; neither would he diſband his forces, notwithſtanding Catulus had commanded

manded it, but upon ſome pretence or other he ſtill kept them in arms about the city, till the ſenate at laſt thought fit to decree him that government. Lucius Philippus was the firſt that moved it in the ſenate, where they ſay one of the ſenators being ſurprized at the motion, demanded of Philip whether his meaning was, "That Pompey ſhould be ſent into Spain Pro "Conſule, [i. e. as a Conſul's deputy] No, replied "Philip, but Pro Conſulibus, [i. e. as the deputy of "both conſuls]" intimating, that the Conſuls for that year were men of no merit or capacity. When Pompey was arrived in Spain, men began to entertain new hopes, (for the fame of a new General commonly produces this effect) and thoſe nations that had not entered into a very ſtrict league with Sertorius, began to waver and revolt. Upon this Sertorius ſpoke in a very arrogant and ſcornful manner of Pompey, ſaying in deriſion, "That he ſhould want no other weapon but "a ferula and rod to chaſtiſe this boy with, if he were "not afraid of that old woman, meaning Metellus." But notwithſtanding this he was in reality afraid of Pompey, and was obſerved ever after to ſtand better upon his guard, and to act more warily than before. For Metellus (which one would not have imagined) was grown very debauched in his life, having given himſelf up to pleaſure, and changed on a ſudden his former moderation and temperance for luxury, prodigality and pride. So that Pompey was upon this account the more loved and eſteemed for contracting his expences and giving an example of frugality, although that virtue was habitual to him, and required no great labour to exerciſe it, for he was naturally inclined to temperance, and was moderate in his deſires.

The ſucceſs of this war was various; but that which gave the greateſt concern to Pompey was the taking of the city of Lauron by Sertorius. For when Pompey thought he had encloſed him, and had boaſted greatly of raiſing the ſiege, he found himſelf encom-

paſſed on a ſudden; ſo that he durſt not move out of his camp, but was forced to ſit ſtill, and ſee the city burnt before his face. However in an engagement near Valentia he defeated Herennius and Perpenna, two experienced commanders, who had joined Sertorius, and ſerved as lieutenants under him, and ſlew above ten thouſand of their men. Pompey being elated with this victory, made haſte to engage Sertorius himſelf, and the rather leſt Metellus ſhould come in for a ſhare in the honour of the victory: ſo that in the evening towards ſunſet, they joined battle near the river Sucron, both wiſhing Metellus not to come, Pompey, that he might engage in the combat alone, Sertorius, that he might engage but with Pompey alone. The iſſue of the battle was doubtful, for one wing on each ſide was victorious; but of the generals, Sertorius had the greater honour, for he defeated thoſe who were oppoſed to him. As to Pompey, he was attacked on horſeback by one of the enemy's infantry, a man of extraordinary ſtature; as they were cloſely engaged, the ſtrokes of their ſwords chanced to light upon each other's hand, but with different ſucceſs; for Pompey only received a ſlight wound, whereas he lopt off the other's hand: however, Pompey being attacked by a great number of the enemy at once, and his own forces there being put to the rout, made his eſcape beyond expectation, by quitting his horſe, and turning him among the enemy; for as the horſe had golden trappings, and other ornaments of great value, the ſoldiers quarrelled among themſelves for the booty, ſo that while they were fighting with one another, and dividing the ſpoil, Pompey made his eſcape. By break of day the next morning each drew out his forces into the field to confirm the victory, to which each of them laid claim; but Metellus coming up, Sertorius and his whole army vaniſhed on a ſudden. For in ſuch a manner did he uſe to raiſe and diſband his forces; ſo that ſometimes he would be wandering up and down all alone, and quickly after would appear

pear at the head of an army consisting of a hundred and fifty thousand men, who came pouring into the field like a torrent suddenly swelled by a violent shower of rain.

After the battle, Pompey went to receive and welcome Metellus, and when he came near him, he commanded his lictors to lower their rods in honour of Metellus as his superior officer; but Metellus on the other side forbad it, and behaved to him in every respect with great civility, not claiming any prerogative either on account of his consular dignity or his seniority; excepting only that when they encamped together, the watch-word was given to the whole camp by Metellus. But generally they encamped separately, being divided and distracted by the art and address of the enemy, who being always in motion, would appear in different places almost in the same instant, drawing them from one skirmish to another. At last by cutting off their provisions, by wasting the country, and making himself master of the sea, he drove them both out of that part of Spain which was committed to their care, and forced them for want of necessaries to retreat into the provinces of others.

Pompey having expended the greatest part of his own estate upon the war, sent to the senate, and demanded money of them, adding, that if they did not furnish him speedily, he should be forced to return into Italy with his army. Lucullus was Consul at that time; and though he was an enemy to Pompey, yet as he was soliciting for the command in the war against Mithridates, he procured and hastened the supplies, fearing lest there should be any pretence given to Pompey for returning home, who himself was desirous to leave Sertorius, and to undertake the war against Mithridates, esteeming that enterprize more honourable and less difficult. In the mean time Sertorius died, being treacherously murdered by some of his own party. Perpenna, who was chief of them, undertook to supply his place, having indeed the same forces, and the same

warlike ſtores and proviſions, but not the ſame ſkill to uſe them. Pompey therefore marched directly againſt Perpenna, and finding him ignorant and perplexed in his affairs, laid a ſnare for him by ſending out a detachment of ten cohorts with orders to range up and down the fields, and diſperſe themſelves abroad; and while Perpenna was employed in attacking and purſuing them, Pompey appeared ſuddenly with all his army, and joining battle, gave him a total overthrow; ſo that moſt of his commanders were ſlain in the field, and he himſelf being brought priſoner to Pompey, was by his order put to death. Nor ſhould we on this account, as ſome have done, cenſure Pompey as being ungrateful and as forgetting his tranſactions with Perpenna in Sicily; ſince it is clear that what he did in this caſe, was the effect of conſummate prudence, and of his attention to the ſafety of his country. For Perpenna having in his cuſtody all Sertorius's papers, ſhowed ſeveral letters from the greateſt men in Rome, who intending to ſubvert the government, had invited Sertorius into Italy; wherefore Pompey fearing leſt by theſe he ſhould kindle a more terrible war than that which had been already extinguiſhed, thought it expedient both to put Perpenna to death, and likewiſe to burn the letters without reading them.

After this Pompey ſpent ſo much time in Spain, as was neceſſary for ſuppreſſing the tumults in that province; and as ſoon as he had allayed the violent heats and ſettled the affairs there, he returned with his army into Italy, where he arrived juſt in the height of the ſervile war. Upon the approach of Pompey, Craſſus, who was General in that war, made all the expedition imaginable to give them battle, wherein he ſhowed more ambition than prudence; however

(1) No body doubted but that was his deſign, which made Cicero tell Atticus in Epiſt. vii. lib. 9. "Mirandum enim in modum Cnei- "us noſter Syllani regni ſimilitudi- "nem concupivit. εἰδὼς σοι λέγω, "nihil ille unquam minus obſcurè "tulit. 'Our friend Pompey is wonder-

however the event anſwered his wiſhes, for he ſlew upon the ſpot twelve thouſand three hundred of the enemy. And yet, notwithſtanding all his foreſight and diligence, it was ordained by fortune that Pompey ſhould ſhare with him in the glory of the ſucceſs; for five thouſand of them who had eſcaped out of the battle fell into his hands; wherefore when he had totally deſtroyed them, that he might be beforehand with Craſſus, he wrote to the ſenate, "That Craſ-"ſus indeed had overthrown the gladiators in battle, but "that he had plucked up the war itſelf by the roots." This the Romans heard and ſpoke of with pleaſure, from their affection to Pompey, which was ſo great, that of all the exploits in Spain againſt Sertorius, they would not ſuffer one, even in jeſt, to be aſcribed to any perſon but Pompey. And yet this great honour and veneration was accompanied with fears and jealouſies, that he would not diſband his ſoldiers, but treading in Sylla's ſteps would uſurp the ſovereign power, and maintain himſelf in it by force of arms (1); ſo that among all thoſe who ran out to meet him and congratulate him upon his return, as many went out of fear as affection. Pompey however removed this ſuſpicion, by declaring beforehand, that he would diſcharge the army after his triumph. But thoſe that envied him ſtill complained that he affected popularity, and courted the common people more than the nobility, and that whereas Sylla had deſtroyed the power and authority of the people, he deſigned to gratify them by reſtoring it; which was very true, for there was not any thing that the people of Rome more paſſionately deſired than the reſtoration of the tribunitial power. Pompey therefore thought himſelf extremely fortunate in this opportunity, deſpairing (if he were prevented in this) of ever meeting with any other ſuch occaſion

'wonderfully deſirous to obtain a 'power like that of Sylla. I tell you 'no more than what I certainly 'know; he makes no ſecret of 'it.' And Epiſt. x. lib. 9. "Hoc tur-"pe Cneius noſter biennio ante co-"gitavit, ita Syllaturit animus ejus, "& proſcripturit." 'Pompey has been

occaſion of expreſſing his gratitude for all thoſe favours which he had received from the people. But though (2) a ſecond triumph was decreed him, and he was declared Conſul, yet all theſe honours were not ſo ſtrong an evidence of his power and greatneſs, as the aſcendant which he had over Craſſus: for he who in wealth, dignity, and eloquence, ſurpaſſed all the ſtateſmen of his time, and who deſpiſed even Pompey himſelf and all others as beneath him, durſt not appear a candidate for the Conſulſhip before he had demanded Pompey's leave and protection. Pompey very readily eſpouſed his intereſt, for he had a long time ſought an occaſion of obliging him, and of contracting a friendſhip with him; ſo that he earneſtly ſolicited for Craſſus, and entreated the people, declaring, "That "their favour would be no leſs to him in chuſing Craſſus "his collegue, than in making himſelf Conſul." But notwithſtanding this, when they were created Conſuls they were always at variance, and continually oppoſed each other. Craſſus prevailed moſt in the ſenate, and Pompey's power was no leſs with the people; for he reſtored to them the office of tribune, and had ſuffered the judicial power (3) again to be transferred to the knights by a law. But he himſelf afforded them the moſt grateful ſpectacle, when he appeared and craved his diſcharge from war. For it was a cuſtom among the Romans, that the knights when they had ſerved out their legal time in the wars, ſhould lead their horſes into the Forum before the two cenſors, and having named the commanders and generals under whom they had ſerved, and given an account of their behaviour during their ſervice, ſhould be diſcharged, every man with honour or diſgrace according

'been forming this ſhameful 'deſign for theſe two years 'paſt, ſo ſtrongly has his mind 'been bent upon imitating Sylla, 'and proſcribing like him.'

(2) He triumphed towards the end of the year of Rome 682, and at the ſame time was declared Conſul for the year enſuing. This was a peculiar honour, to be declared Conſul before he had born any other office in

according to his deſerts. The two cenſors, Gellus and Catulus, were ſitting in great ſolemnity, and the knights were paſſing under examination before them, when Pompey was ſeen afar off coming into the Forum, with all the enſigns of conſular authority, but himſelf leading his horſe in his hand. As he drew near, he commanded his officers to make way, and then led his horſe to the tribunal; the people were all this while in amazement, and in profound ſilence, and the cenſors ſhowed him great reſpect, and at the ſame time ſeemed highly pleaſed with his behaviour. Then the ſenior Cenſor addreſſed him thus, "Pompey the Great, I demand of "thee, whether thou haſt ſerved out all that time in "the wars that is preſcribed by the law?" Pompey replied with a loud voice, "I have ſerved it all, and "all under myſelf as a General;" at this the people gave a great ſhout, and were ſo tranſported with joy, that there was no ſilencing their acclamations. But the cenſors riſing from their tribunal, accompanied him home to gratify the multitude, who followed after clapping their hands, and ſhouting with great joy.

Pompey's Conſulſhip being now expiring, and the miſunderſtanding betwixt him and Craſſus increaſing every day, one Caius Aurelius of the equeſtrian order, a man who had always declined public buſineſs aſcended the Roſtrum, and addreſſed himſelf to the people in a full aſſembly, declaring, that Jupiter had appeared to him in a dream, commanding him to tell the Conſuls, "That they ſhould not quit their office till they were "reconciled." Pompey upon hearing this ſtood ſilent; but Craſſus firſt giving him his hand and ſaluting him, ſpoke in this manner, "I cannot think, O Romans, that "I do any thing mean or diſhonourable, in yielding firſt "to Pompey, whom you are pleaſed to ſurname the "Great

in the government; but his two triumphs might well ſerve to excuſe that ſingularity.

(3) L. Aurelius Cotta carried that law when he was Prætor, and Plutarch ſays again, becauſe Caius Gracchus had conveyed that right to the knights fifty years before.

(4) The

" Great even while he was a beardleſs youth, and to " whom you granted two triumphs before he had a " place in the ſenate." Upon this they were reconciled, and laid down their office. Craſſus kept to his former manner of life; but Pompey pleaded cauſes very ſeldom, and by degrees quitted the Forum; he rarely appeared in publick, and whenever he did, it was with a great train accompanying him; neither was it eaſy to meet or viſit him but in the midſt of a croud of attendants; for his delight was to appear guarded with a numerous retinue, by which he attracted reſpect and veneration, and preſerved his dignity from being ſullied by the company and converſation of the multitude. For men who have grown great by arms, cannot eaſily ſtoop to that popular equality which always prevails in a commonwealth, and therefore are in danger of ſinking into contempt when they change their manner of life; for they naturally expect to be eſteemed as much ſuperior to others in the city, as they were in the field; whereas thoſe who have not diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the camp, cannot endure to be inferior in the city too; and therefore when they ſee a commander who is ſignalized by his victories and triumphs, applying himſelf to the buſineſs of the Forum, they endeavour to leſſen and depreſs him; whereas if he reſigns to them the pre-eminence, in civil buſineſs, they will contentedly allow him to enjoy the glory of his military exploits. This appeared not long after by the event.

The power of the pirates firſt appeared in Cilicia. They were at firſt little taken notice of (4); but their courage and confidence much increaſed during the war with Mithridates, when they hired themſelves out,

(4) The Romans did not apply in earneſt to that war till the year of Rome 674, nine years before this Conſulſhip of Pompey, though it had been the occaſion of many diſorders, which they were not at leiſure to remedy whilſt they had other wars both civil and foreign upon their hands. Vid. Flor. lib. iii. cap. 6.

(5) There was in the territo-

ries

out, and became ſtipendaries in the King's ſervice. Afterwards, whilſt the Romans were embroiled in their civil wars, and were fighting againſt one another even before the very gates of Rome, the ſeas lay neglected and unguarded, which by degrees encouraged them not only to attack the merchants and ſhips upon the ſea, but alſo to lay waſte the iſlands and ſeaport towns. Many perſons of great wealth and noble birth, and diſtinguiſhed for their capacity, embarked with them and entered into their ſociety, as if their employment had been in the higheſt degree honourable and worthy of their ambition. They had divers arſenals and harbours, and watch-towers well fortified. They had a fleet well equipped, and well manned with ſtout ſailors and expert pilots; their ſhips were very light and ſwift, and well built for ſervice; but their magnificence was ſtill more mortifying than their force was terrible; for the ſterns of their ſhips were gilt, their canopies were of the fineſt purple, and their oars were covered with ſilver; with ſuch wanton pride and luxury did they ſeem to triumph in their villainy. Their muſick and dancing, their banquetting and revelling on every coaſt the great officers who were made priſoners by them, and the towns which they laid under contribution, were the reproach and diſhonour of the Roman empire. Their fleet conſiſted of above a thouſand ſhips, and they had taken no leſs than four hundred cities, and plundered thoſe temples which till then had been held ſacred and inviolable, ſuch as thoſe of Apollo at Didyme (5) and Claros, that of the Cabiri in Samothracia, of Ceres in the city of Hermione (6), of Æſculapius in Epidaurus, thoſe of Neptune in the Iſthmus,

ries of Miletus, a place called Didyme, where Apollo had a temple and Oracle, and was from thence called Didymæus Apollo. Pauſanias tells us that this temple was more ancient than the Ionick migration. Claros was alſo a town in Ionia where there was a mountain and a grove ſacred to Apollo.

(6) Some tranſlators have rendered this by the temple of Tellus,

mus, at Tænarus, and in the isle of Calauria, those of Apollo at Actium, and in the isle of Leucas, and those of Juno at Samos, Argos, and the promontory of Lacinium. They likewise offered strange sacrifices, such as are performed at (7) Olympus, and practised certain mysterious ceremonies, among which those of (8) Mithres have been preserved down to our age. having their original and first institution from them. But beside these piracies by sea, they were yet more injurious to the Romans by land; for they would often go ashore and rob upon the highways; plundering and destroying their country-houses near the sea: and once they seized upon two Roman prætors, Sextilius and Bellinus, in their purple robes, and carried them off, together with their lictors. The daughter also of Antonius (a man who had received the honour of a triumph) was seized as she was going to her country-seat, and was obliged to pay a great sum for her ransom. Nay their insolence rose to such a pitch, that when any one of the captives declared himself to be a Roman and told his name, they pretended to be surprized and terrified, smote their thighs, and fell down at his feet, beseeching him to forgive them. The credulous captive seeing them so humble and sup-

Tellus, or the earth; though there never was any such temple in the city of Hermione, but there was a very famous one there dedicated to Ceres. Χθονία in this place signifies Ceres, which may be proved from a passage in Pausanias's Corinthiacks; "The "Argives say that Chthonia the "daughter of Colontas having "been saved out of a conflagration "by Ceres, and conveyed to Her-"mione, built there a temple to "that Goddess, who was called "Chthonia, and that her festival "was called by the same name." And in his Laconicks he writes: "It is said that the Lacedæmonians "adore Ceres under the name of "Chthonia, and that they were "instructed in her rites by Orphe-"us. But I am of opinion that the "Lacedæmonians borrowed those "ceremonies from the city of Her-"mione, where Ceres had a tem-"ple dedicated to her under that "name.

(7) Plutarch does not mean mount Olympus, but the city of Olympus near Phaselis in Pamphylia, which was one of the receptacles of those pirates. What sort of sacrifices they used to perform there is not known.

(8) Herodotus says that the Persians adored Venus under the name

ſuppliant, believed them to be in earneſt, for ſome were ſo officious as to put on his ſhoes, others helped him on with his gown, leſt his quality ſhould be miſtaken again. At laſt when they had mocked him long enough, they let down a ladder from the ſide of the ſhip into the ſea, bid him depart, and wiſhed him a good journey home; if he refuſed, they threw him overboard and drowned him.

The whole Tuſcan ſea was ſo infeſted by theſe pirates that navigation and commerce was entirely ſtopped. The Romans therefore finding themſelves ſtraitned in their markets, and fearing leſt a famine ſhould enſue, determined to ſend out Pompey to recover the dominion of the ſea from the pirates. And (9) Gabinius one of Pompey's friends propoſed a law which inveſted him not only with the ſupreme command of the fleet, but with an univerſal and unlimited power. For by that decree his authority was to extend over all the ſeas within the pillars of Hercules, and over the whole continent for the ſpace of four hundred furlongs from the ſea; and there were but few regions under the Roman empire which were out of that compaſs, and all the moſt conſiderable nations and kings were included in it. Beſides, by this decree he had a power of

name of Mithres; but the moſt common opinion is, that Mithres was the ſun.

(9) He was then tribune of the people in the year of Rome ſix hundred eighty-ſix, ſixty-five years before the birth of our Saviour. Pompey being then thirty-eight years old. Cicero has given us the character of this Gabinius in the ſecond oration after his return, where he repreſents him in the following odious colours. "Qui niſi ad aran tribu-" natus confugiſſet, neque vim " prætoris, nec multitudinem cre-" ditorum, nec honorum proſcrip-" tionem, effugere potuiſſet. Quo " in magiſtratu, niſi rogationem de " piratico bello tuliſſet, profecto " egeſtate & improbitate coactus " piraticam ipſe feciſſet. If he had " not taken ſanctuary in his office " of tribune, and fled thither as to " an inviolable altar, he would ne-" ver have eſcaped the authority of " the Prætor, nor the number of his " creditors, nor have prevented the " confiſcation of his eſtate; and if " in that office he had not carried " the law for the war againſt the " pirates, his poverty and iniquity " together would have made him " turn pirate himſelf.

(1) Some

of electing, for his aſſiſtance, fifteen lieutenants out of the ſenate, and of aſſigning particular provinces to each; he was authorized alſo to take out of the treaſury, and of the publicans, what money he pleaſed, to fit out a fleet of two hundred ſhips, and to raiſe as many ſoldiers and ſeamen as he thought proper. When this law was read, the common people approved of it exceedingly; but the moſt conſiderable men of the ſenate looked upon this exorbitant and unbounded power as too great to be envied and as a real object of fear. They all agreed therefore to oppoſe the paſſing of the law except Cæſar, who gave his vote for it, not ſo much to gratify Pompey as the people, with whom he was deſirous to ingratiate himſelf as early as poſſible. The reſt inveighed bitterly againſt Pompey; and one of the Conſuls told him, "That if he followed "the footſteps of Romulus, he would ſcarce avoid his "end;" but he was in danger of being torn in pieces by the multitude for this ſpeech. Yet when Catulus ſtood up to ſpeak againſt the law, the people in reverence to him were very ſilent and attentive. He therefore, after he had, without the leaſt appearance of envy, ſpoken largely in honour of Pompey, began to adviſe the people in kindneſs to ſpare him, and not to expoſe a man of his importance to ſuch continual danger and wars; "For", ſaid he, "where could you find "ſuch another? Or whom would you chuſe if you ſhould "loſe him?" They all cried out with one voice, "Yourſelf." Catulus therefore finding his arguments ineffectual, deſiſted. Then Roſcius attempted to ſpeak, but no one would liſten to him; wherefore he made ſigns with his fingers, intimating that Pompey ſhould not have the ſole command, but that a collegue ſhould be named in the decree with him: upon this, the multitude being extremely incenſed, made ſuch a violent exclamation, that a crow flying over the Forum at that inſtant, was ſtunned, and dropt down among the croud; from which it appears, that when birds fall to the ground on ſuch occaſions, it is not

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becauſe the air is ſo broken and divided by the ſhock as to leave a total vacuity, but becauſe they are ſtruck down as with a blow, by the violent agitation which ſo loud a ſound produces in the air.

The aſſembly broke up that day, without coming to any reſolution. When the day came for the people to give their ſuffrages, Pompey went privately into the country; but hearing that the law was paſſed, he returned again into the city by night, to avoid the envy that might ariſe from that concourſe of people who would otherwiſe have gone to meet and congratulate him. The next morning he came abroad and ſacrificed to the Gods, and having called an aſſembly, he prevailed on the people to grant him many things beſide what were already granted, and almoſt to double the preparations appointed in the former decree: for five hundred ſhips, and an army of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, were allowed him; there were choſen likewiſe for his lieutenants, twenty-four ſenators, who had been prætors, or generals of armies, and to thoſe were added two quæſtors. It happened within this time that the price of proviſions was much abated, which gave an occaſion to the people to ſay in their joy, "That the very "name of Pompey had already ended the war. However Pompey in purſuance of his charge divided the whole Mediterranean into thirteen parts, allotting a fleet to each under the command of one of his lieutenants; and having thus diſperſed his forces into all quarters, and as it were encloſed the pirates in his nets, he took great numbers of them, and brought them into harbour. As for thoſe who withdrew themſelves betimes, and eſcaped his purſuit, they all retired to Cilicia, where they hid themſelves as in a hive. Pompey deſigned to purſue them thither with ſixty of his beſt ſhips; but firſt he reſolved to deſtroy thoſe who remained nearer home, in the Tuſcan ſea, or on the coaſts of Africa, Sardinia, Corſica, and Sicily; and this he performed in the ſpace of forty days

by his own indefatigable industry, and the diligence of his lieutenants.

Pompey having met with some obstruction at Rome, through the resentment and envy of Piso the Consul, who had wasted his stores and discharged his seamen, sent his fleet round to Brundusium, and went himself by land through Tuscany to Rome. As soon as this was known to the people, they all flocked out to meet him upon the way, though but a few days had passed since they attended him at his departure. But that which occasioned their greatest joy, was the sudden and unexpected change in the markets, which now were plentifully furnished with provisions; so that Piso was in great danger of being deprived of his Consulship, Gabinius having a law ready drawn up for that purpose; but Pompey forbad it, behaving in that, as in all things else, with great moderation, by which having obtained all that he desired, he departed for Brundusium, whence he set sail in pursuit of the pirates. Though he was straitened in time, and his hasty voyage forced him to sail by several famous cities without stopping, yet he would not pass by the city of Athens. Having landed there he sacrificed to the Gods, and made an oration to the people; and as he was returning out of the city, he read at the gates two inscriptions in honour of him, each consisting of a single verse. That within the gate was this;

Thy humbler thoughts make thee a God the more.

The other without the gate was,

We wish'd and saw, we honour and adore.

Pompey having shown himself merciful to some of that swarm of thieves, who were not yet quite dispersed, but continued to rove about the seas, (for he had

had upon their ſupplication ordered a ſeizure of their ſhips and perſons only, without any further ſeverity the reſt of their comrades, in hopes of mercy too, made their eſcape from his other commanders, and ſurrendered themſelves with their wives and children to him. Pompey pardoned all that came in, and the rather becauſe by them he might make a diſcovery of thoſe who fled from his juſtice, as conſcious that their crimes were beyond forgiveneſs. The greateſt part of theſe, and the moſt conſiderable men among them, conveyed their families and treaſures, and all uſeleſs perſons into caſtles and fortified towns about mount Taurus; but they themſelves having well manned their gallies, embarked at Coraceſium in Cilicia, where they waited for Pompey and gave him battle. Here they had a total overthrow, upon which they retired into the fort, and Pompey immediately beſieged them. At laſt, having diſpatched their heralds to him with a ſubmiſſion, they delivered up to him themſelves, their towns, iſlands, and ſtrong holds, all which they had fortified in ſuch a manner as to render them almoſt impregnable and inacceſſible.

Thus was this war ended, and the whole power of the pirates at ſea diſſolved every where in the ſpace of three months. Beſide a great number of other veſſels, Pompey took ninety ſhips armed with brazen beaks. He likewiſe took above twenty thouſand priſoners, whom he was unwilling to put to death, though he thought it dangerous to ſuffer them to diſperſe, leſt they might reunite and make head again, as they were numerous, poor, and warlike. Therefore conſidering that man by nature is not a wild ſavage creature, but becomes ſuch only by an unnatural and vicious habit, and that he is reclaimed and civilized by a change of place, converſation and manner of life, as beaſts that are wild by nature become tame and tractable by being kept and fed in a mild domeſtick manner, he determined to remove theſe

pirates from the sea to the land, and to give them a taste of an innocent and humane course of life, by settling them in cities, and accustoming them to agriculture. Some therefore were placed in the small and unpeopled towns of the Cilicians, mixing and incorporating with the few inhabitants there, who on account of this addition to their number, obtained an enlargement of their territories. Others he fixed in the city of the Solians, which he repaired, it having been lately ruined and depopulated by Tigranes King of Armenia. He also sent a great number to Dyme, a city of Achaia, which was very thin of inhabitants though it had a large and fruitful territory. This conduct, however, was censured by those who envied and hated him; but his behaviour to Metellus in Crete, was disapproved even by his best friends. For Metellus, (a relation of him who had been collegue with Pompey in Spain) was sent Prætor into Crete some time before the command in this war was given to Pompey. Crete was the chief nursery of these pirates next to Cilicia; and Metellus having apprehended many of them there, put them to death. Those who yet remained, and were besieged, sent to Pompey, and invited him into the island, alledging that it belonged to his province, as every part of it was within that distance from the sea to which his jurisdiction extended. Pompey receiving their submission, wrote to Metellus, commanding him to desist from the war; he also commanded the cities not to pay any obedience to Metellus, and sent Lucius Octavius one of his lieutenants, to command in his stead. Octavius being arrived in Crete, entered the besieged fortifications, and fought in defence of the pirates. This rendered Pompey not only odious but even ridiculous; for what could be more absurd than out of envy to Metellus to lend his name and authority to such impious and abandoned wretches, to be used as a kind of charm to protect them? For even Achilles is not thought to have acted the part of a wise man, but

but rather of a giddy youth madly desirous of glory, when by signs he forbad the rest of the Grecians to strike at Hector;

And great Achilles, *lest some* Greek's *advance*
Should snatch the glory from his lifted lance,
Sign'd to his troops to yield the foe his way,
And leave untouch'd the honours of the day. Pope.

But Pompey outdid even Achilles on this occasion; for he fought to defend and preserve a common enemy, only that he might deprive a Roman Prætor, after all his labours, of the honour of a triumph. Metellus however would not desist from the attack, and when he had stormed the place he put all the pirates to death; after which he publickly reproached and disgraced Octavius before the whole camp, and then dismissed him.

When it was reported at Rome that the war with the pirates was at an end, and that Pompey being quite unemployed spent his time in visiting the different cities, Manilius, a tribune of the people, proposed a law, "That Pompey should have all the forces of Lucullus, "and the provinces under his government, together "with Bithynia, which was then under the command of "Glabrio; and that he should make war upon Mithri-"dates and Tigranes, retaining still the same naval forces "and the sovereignty of the seas as before." But this was nothing less than to constitute one absolute monarch of all the Roman empire; for the only provinces which seemed to be exempt from his government by the former decree, Phrygia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia, the Upper Colchis, and Armenia, were all assigned to him by this latter law, together with all the forces with which Lucullus had defeated Mithridates and Tigranes. But though Lucullus was thus robbed of the glory of his atchievements, by having a successor assigned him rather in the honour of his triumph than in the danger of the war; yet this was

not what the ſenate and nobility chiefly conſidered notwithſtanding they were very ſenſible that Lucullus had been unjuſtly and ungratefully treated. They were principally concerned to ſee a tyranny eſtabliſhed by this increaſe of Pompey's power; and therefore they exhorted and encouraged one another privately to exert all their force in oppoſition to this law, and not to give up their liberties at once. But when the day came their courage failed them for fear of the people, and they all remained ſilent except Catulus, who boldly inveighed againſt the law. But finding that his ſpeech had no effect upon any of the people, he turned to the ſenate, and cried out ſeveral times from the Roſtrum, bidding them (1) "ſeek out ſome mountain "or rock as their forefathers had done, whither they might "fly to preſerve their liberty." The law however, as it is ſaid, was paſſed by the ſuffrages of all the tribes. Thus was Pompey even in his abſence inveſted with almoſt all that power which Sylla obtained by arms, and by the conqueſt of the city. When Pompey had advice by letters of the decree, and his friends came to congratulate him, he frowned and ſtruck his thigh; and, as if he had been overcharged already, and weary of government, cried out, "What an endleſs ſucceſſion of labours! how much better for me would it be "were I obſcure and unknown! Muſt my life be ſpent in "perpetual wars? Shall I never be out of the reach of envy, "and live in a rural retirement with my wife?" But even his beſt friends could not endure ſuch groſs hypocriſy, well knowing that his joy was the greater as his natural ambition was now inflamed by his enmity to Lucullus. His real diſpoſition was ſoon diſcovered by his actions; for in the firſt place he ſent out his edicts into all quarters, commanding all the ſoldiers to reſort to him; then he ſummoned all the tributary kings

(1) Some think that this alludes to the retreat into the ſacred mount. But as that was a ſeceſſion of the Plebeians, and this ſpeech is addreſſed to the ſenate, others think that the alluſion

kings and princes; and in all places through which he paſſed, he altered every thing that had been done and eſtabliſhed by Lucullus; to ſome he remitted their fines and penalties, and others he deprived of their rewards. And after this manner did he act in all things, being zealous to ſhow to the admirers of Lucullus that all his power and authority was now at an end. But as Lucullus complained of theſe proceedings, and expoſtulated with him by his friends, it was agreed that they ſhould have a conference; and accordingly they met in the country of Galatia. As they were both great generals and had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their exploits and victories, they came in ſtate, attended with their lictors bearing their rods before them wreathed about with branches of laurel. Lucullus came through a country full of green and ſhady groves, but Pompeys march was through large plains, which were dry and barren. Pompey's laurels being therefore parched and withered, Lucullus's lictors when they perceived it took ſome of their own laurels which were freſh gathered, and bound them about his rods. This was thought ſomewhat ominous, and looked as if Pompey came to take away the reward and honour of Lucullus's victories. Lucullus indeed had the ſuperiority in reſpect of age and of his former conſulſhip; but the dignity of Pompey was the greater on account of his triumphs. Their converſation began with great kindneſs and civility, and with mutual compliments and congratulations on the great actions they had performed and the victories they had obtained. But when they came to the chief ſubject of their conference, they obſerved no decency nor moderation, but reproached each other in the ſevereſt terms, Pompey upbraiding Lucullus with avarice, and Lucullus accuſing Pompey of ambition; ſo that their friends could hardly part them. Lucullus

luſion is to the retreat into the Tarpeian rock) upon the approach of the Gauls.

Lucullus had made a distribution of conquered lands in Galatia, and had given other largesses to whom he pleased. But Pompey encamping not far distant from him, publickly forbad any man to pay obedience to Lucullus; he likewise inveigled away all his soldiers, except only sixteen hundred, who were likely to be as unserviceable to him, as they were ill-affected to Lucullus, being very insolent and mutinous. Pompey besides openly censured his conduct, and detracted from the glory of his actions, declaring that the battles of Lucullus were but imaginary, such as are represented in pictures, or upon the stage with personated kings, whereas the difficult part was reserved for him, to contend with real strength and a well disciplined army, as Mithridates began now to be in earnest, and had betaken himself to his shields, swords, and horses. Lucullus in return said that "Pompey came to fight with the image and shadow of war, "and that as a dastardly bird of prey attacks only bodies "already slain, so he, according to his usual custom, was "come to crush the feeble relicks of an expiring war; "for thus he attributed to himself the conquests over "Sertorius, Lepidus, and Spartacus; one of which was "the work of Crassus, another of Catulus, and the other "of Metellus: and therefore it was no great wonder, "that the glory of the Pontick and Armenian war should "be usurped by a man, who by his subtle artifices could "obtain for himself the honour of a triumph for dispersing some fugitive slaves."

After this Lucullus departed for Rome, and Pompey having placed his whole navy as a guard upon all the seas betwixt the province of Phœnicia and the Bosphorus, marched against Mithridates, who though he had still an army left of thirty thousand foot, and two thousand horse, yet durst not risk a battle, but lay securely encamped upon a strong mountain, which however he forsook upon Pompey's approach, as a place destitute of water. Pompey as soon as he arrived took possession of it; and from the nature of

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the plants that grew there, and from many gaps or chinks which he saw in the earth, conjecturing that such a place could not be without springs, he ordered his men to sink wells in different parts, whereby there was great plenty of water throughout all the camp in a little time; so that he wondered how it was possible for Mithridates to be ignorant of this, during all the time of his encampment there. After this Pompey pursued him to his next camp, where he shut him up by making a fortification about it. But he having endured a siege of forty-five days made his escape privately, and fled away with his best troops, having first killed all the sick and unserviceable persons in his camp. Pompey followed him close, and overtook him near the banks of the Euphrates, where he encamped very near him; but fearing lest he should pass over the river and escape again, he drew up his army against him at midnight. It is said that at that very time Mithridates had a dream which prognosticated the misfortunes that were to befal him; for he seemed to be sailing in the Pontick sea with a prosperous gale, and just in view of the Bosphorus, and discoursing agreeably with his companions, as one overjoyed at finding himself in perfect security; but on a sudden he seemed to be deserted by all, and to be floating upon a little broken plank of the ship. Whilst he was in this imaginary distress, some of his friends came to his tent, and awaked him with the news of Pompey's approach. They were now obliged to fight for the camp itself; the officers therefore led out the men and drew them up in order of battle. Pompey perceiving how well they were prepared for defence, was unwilling to hazard an engagement in the dark, judging it more prudent to encompass them only at present, lest they should escape, and to give them battle the next day, as his men were far the better soldiers. But the oldest of his commanders were of another opinion, and by entreaties and remonstrances prevailed upon him to begin the engagement immediately.

diately. Neither was the night totally dark; for the moon gave light enough to diſtinguiſh objects. But this rather deluded and miſled the King's army; for as the Romans had the moon behind them, and ſhe was very low, and juſt upon ſetting, the ſhadows projected a long way before their bodies, and reached almoſt to the enemy, who not exactly diſcerning the diſtance, but imagining them to be near at hand threw their darts at the ſhadows, without the leaſt execution upon any one of the Romans. They perceiving this, ran in upon them with a great ſhout; but the barbarians being confounded and unable to ſtand the charge, were put to flight with a great ſlaughter, ſo that above ten thouſand were ſlain upon the ſpot, and the camp itſelf was taken. As for Mithridates, he at the beginning of the onſet with a body of eight hundred horſe forced through all the Roman army and made his eſcape; but this party ſoon forſook him, and diſperſed, ſo that he was left with no more than three perſons in his retinue, among whom was his concubine Hypſicratia, a woman who always ſhowed a manly and daring ſpirit, for which reaſon the King called her Hypſicrates. She being attired and mounted like a Perſian horſeman, accompanied the King in all his flight, never being weary even in the longeſt journey, nor ever failing to attend him in perſon, and even to take care of his horſe, till they came to a caſtle called Inora (2), where the King had lodged his money, and other things of the greateſt value. Here Mithridates diſtributed the richeſt of his apparel among thoſe who reſorted to him in their flight; and to every one of his friends he gave a deadly poiſon, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy againſt their will. From thence he purſued his journey in order to take refuge with Tigranes

(2) Between the great and leſſer Armenia. Strabo, Lib. xii. ſays that Mithridates was ſo careful to ſecure thoſe parts, that he cauſed ſeventy-five caſtles or fortreſſes to be built thereabouts, wherein he depoſited all his treaſures; and he gives us the names

granes in Armenia; but that Prince was ſo far from receiving him, that he iſſued a proclamation againſt him, offering a reward of an hundred talents to any one that ſhould kill him. Whereupon he paſſed the head of the Euphrates, and directed his flight through the country of Colchis.

In the mean time Pompey advanced into Armenia, upon the invitation of young Tigranes, who had revolted from his father, and was come as far as the Araxes to meet Pompey. This river riſes near the head of the Euphrates, but bending its courſe towards the eaſt, falls into the Caſpian ſea. Pompey and Tigranes being joined, marched on together, receiving the homage of all the cities through which they paſſed. But Tigranes the father having been lately defeated by Lucullus, and hearing that Pompey was of a kind and humane diſpoſition, received a Roman garriſon into his capital, and taking along with him ſeveral of his friends and relations, went in perſon to ſurrender himſelf to Pompey. He came as far as the trenches on horſeback; but there he was met by two of Pompey's lictors, who commanded him to alight and walk on foot, as no man ever was ſeen on horſeback within a Roman camp. Tigranes ſubmitted to this immediately, and at the ſame time taking off his ſword, delivered it up; and laſt of all, as ſoon as he appeared before Pompey, he pulled off his royal diadem, and attempted to lay it at his feet; nay, he would meanly have fallen proſtrate at his knees, had not Pompey himſelf prevented it, by taking and placing him at his right hand, and his ſon at his left. Pompey then told him, "That as to his loſſes, they were chargeable "upon Lucullus, for that by him he had been diſpoſſeſſed of "Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Sophene; but all "that he had preſerved till that time he ſhould peaceably "enjoy,

names of the chief of them, Hydara, Baſgœdariza, and Sinoria, which he places on the frontiers of the greater Armenia. It is not therefore without good reaſon that Lubinus thinks that inſtead of Inora, it ought to be read Sinoria.

(3) The

" enjoy, paying the ſum of ſix thouſand talents as a fine " for the injuries done by him to the Romans, and that his " ſon ſhould enjoy the kingdom of Sophene." Tigranes himſelf was well pleaſed with theſe conditions; and therefore when the Romans ſaluted him King, he ſeemed to be overjoyed, and promiſed to every common ſoldier half a mina of ſilver, to every centurion ten minæ, and to every tribune a talent. But the ſon was highly diſpleaſed, and when he was invited to ſupper, he replied, " That he did not want that ſort of honour from " Pompey, and that he ſhould find ſome other Roman " to be his friend." Pompey upon this immediately impriſoned him and reſerved him for his triumph.

Not long after this, Phraates King of Parthia ſent Pompey, and demanded that the young Tigranes, who was his ſon-in-law, ſhould be releaſed to him, and that the river Euphrates ſhould be the bound of his conqueſts. Pompey replied, " That as to Tigranes, he belonged " more to his own father, than to his father-in-law; " and as for his conqueſts, he would give them ſuch " bounds as were agreeable to reaſon and juſtice.

Pompey leaving Armenia under the care of Afranius, went himſelf in purſuit of Mithridates; whereby he was forced to march through ſeveral nations inhabiting about mount Caucaſus. Of theſe the Albanians and Iberians were the chief. The Iberians extend as far as the Moſchian mountains, and the kingdom of Pontus; the Albanians lie more to the eaſt, towards the Caſpian ſea. The Albanians at firſt permitted Pompey upon his entreaty to paſs through the country; but when they found that the winter had ſurprized the Roman army whilſt they were in their country, and that they were buſy in celebrating the feſtival of Saturn, they collected an army of no leſs than forty thouſand men, with a reſolution to attack them. For this purpoſe they paſſed the river (3) Cyrnus, which riſing

(3) The river which Plutarch calls Cyrnus, is named Cyrus by Strabo and Pliny, whoſe authority ought to be followed.

(4) This is Strabo's opinion, who

riſing among the mountains of Iberia, and receiving the river Araxes in its courſe from Armenia, diſcharges itſelf by twelve different mouths into the Caſpian ſea; although others are of opinion, (4) that the Araxes does not fall into it, but that they ſeparately, though near each other, diſcharge themſelves into the ſame ſea. It was in the power of Pompey to have obſtructed their paſſage over the river, but he permitted it without oppoſition, and as ſoon as they were got over he attacked and routed them, and ſlew a great number of them on the ſpot. Upon this their King ſent ambaſſadors with his ſubmiſſion. Pompey pardoned the offence, and having entered into a league with him, marched againſt the Iberians, a nation no leſs in number than the other, but much more warlike, and who were firmly reſolved to aſſiſt Mithridates, and to oppoſe Pompey to the utmoſt. The Iberians were not ſubject to the Medes or Perſians; and they happened likewiſe to eſcape the dominion of the Macedonians, becauſe Alexander was obliged to quicken his march through Hyrcania; but Pompey ſubdued them in a deciſive battle, in which nine thouſand were ſlain, and more than ten thouſand taken priſoners. From thence he went into the country of Colchis, where Servilius met him at the mouth of the river Phaſis, with the fleet under his command, with which he guarded the coaſt of Pontus.

This purſuit of Mithridates was attended with great difficulties, he having concealed himſelf among the nations that inhabit about the Boſphorus and the lake Mæotis. Beſides, news was brought to Pompey that the Albanians had revolted: this ſo enraged him that he reſolved to turn his forces againſt them, and paſſed back again over the Cyrnus with great difficulty and danger, the barbarians having fortified it with paliſades a great way down the banks. After this, having

who deſcribes the different mouths of thoſe two rivers; and in this he is followed by our modern geographers.

(5) This

having a tedious march to make through a dry and rugged country, he ordered ten thouſand caſks to be filled with water, and ſo advanced towards the enemy. He found them drawn up in order of battle near the river Abas (5), to the number of ſixty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe, but ill armed, and many of them covered only with the ſkins of wild beaſts. (6). Their general was Coſis the King's brother, who as ſoon as the battle was begun, ſingled out Pompey, and ruſhing in upon him, ſtruck his javelin into the joints of his breaſtplate; but Pompey in return pierced him through the body with his lance, and ſlew him. It is reported, that in this fight there were ſeveral Amazons who ſerved as auxiliaries to theſe barbarians, and that they came down from theſe mountains that run along by the river Thermodon; for after the battle, when the Romans were taking the plunder of the field, they met with ſeveral targets and buſkins of the Amazons, but there was not the body of a woman to be ſeen among all the dead. They inhabit thoſe parts of mount Caucaſus that look towards the Hyrcanian ſea, not bordering upon the Albanians, (7) for the territories of the Gelæ and the Leges lie betwixt; and with theſe people they yearly cohabit for two months, near the river Thermodon; after which they return home, and live alone all the reſt of the year.

After this engagement Pompey was determined to have marched by the ſide of the Caſpian ſea into Hyrcania, but was forced to retreat after three days march,

(5) This river rolls down from the mountains of Albania, and falls into the Caſpian ſea. It is called Albanus by Ptolomy, and is ſo diſtinguiſhed in our maps.

(6) Strabo ſpeaking of theſe people of Albania, ſays that they could raiſe more forces than the Iberians; for they could ſend into the field no leſs than ſixty thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe; but at the ſame time he tells us that theſe troops were ill diſciplined. They made uſe of darts and arrows, and were armed with cuiraſſes, bucklers and helmets, made of the ſkins of wild beaſts.

(7) Plutarch has taken this from Theophanes of Mitylene, who attended Pompey in this expedition,

march, by reaſon of the venomous ſerpents that were very numerous in thoſe countries; and therefore he retired into the leſſer Armenia. Whilſt he remained there, he gave audience to ſome ambaſſadors from the kings of the Medes, and (8) Elymæans, and diſmiſſed them with letters of friendſhip and reſpect to their maſters; but for the king of Parthia, who made incurſions upon Gordyene, and plundered and harraſſed the ſubjects of Tigranes, he ſent an army againſt him under the command of Afranius who put him to the rout, and purſued him as far as Arbelitis.

Among all the concubines of King Mithridates that were brought before Pompey, he had no commerce with any, but ſent them all to their parents and relations; for moſt of them were either the daughters or wives of Mithridates's generals, or of the principal officers in his court. But Stratonice, who of all the reſt had the greateſt power and influence over him, and to whom he had committed the cuſtody of that fortreſs where he had lodged the beſt part of his treaſure, was they ſay, the daughter of a certain muſician, a man in years, and in low circumſtances. As ſhe happened one night to ſing at a banquet in Mithridates's preſence, he was ſo ſmitten on a ſudden with her, that he immediately took her to his bed, to the great mortification of the father, who had loſt his daughter without ſo much as a kind word from his Prince in return. But when he roſe in the morning, and ſaw tables covered with veſſels of gold and ſilver,

tion, and drew up a relation of it. In this relation he ſays that the Amazons were ſeparated from the Albanians by the Gelæ, and the Leges, nations of Scythia. Strab. Lib. xi.

(8) The Elymæans inhabited a province in Aſſyria bordering upon the Medes. Strabo makes mention of three provinces belonging to the Elymæans, Gabiana, Maſſabitica, and Corbiana. He ſays the low country produced only huſbandmen, but that the highlands abounded in brave ſoldiers, for the moſt part archers, and ſo numerous that the King preſuming upon his ſtrength refuſed to ſubmit to the king of Parthia, and ſcorned to follow the example of his neighbours. Strab. lib. xvi.

(9) It

ſilver, a great retinue of ſervants eunuchs and pages attending him with rich garments, and (9) a horſe ſtanding before the door magnificently capariſoned, as if he were one of the king's favourite's, thinking himſelf mocked and abuſed, he attempted to run out of doors; but the ſervants laying hold of him, informed him that the King had beſtowed on him the houſe and furniture of a rich nobleman lately deceaſed, and that theſe were but the firſt fruits and earneſt of greater riches and poſſeſſions that were to come. When with much difficulty they had perſuaded him to believe this, he put on a purple robe, and mounting his horſe, rode through the city, crying out, "All this is mine!" and to thoſe that laughed at him, he ſaid, "There was nothing ſtrange in this, and they "ſhould rather wonder that he did not throw ſtones at "all he met through the exceſs of his joy." Such was Stratonice's father,

"And ſuch th' illuſtrious ſtock from which ſhe ſprang (1).

When ſhe delivered up her caſtle into the hands of Pompey, and offered him many preſents of great value, he received only ſuch as he thought might ſerve to adorn the temples of the Gods, and add to the ſplendor of his triumph; the reſt he left to Stratonice, bidding her pleaſe herſelf in the enjoyment of them. In the ſame manner when the King of Iberia preſented him with a bedſtead, table, and a chair of ſtate, all of

(9) It was a cuſtom with theſe oriental princes to preſent their friends, and ſuch as they had a mind to honour, with a horſe out of their own ſtable in royal furniture. Thus Ahaſuerus honoured Mordecai, Eſth. vi. 8, &c.

(1) Plutarch in this grave and magnificent expreſſion, τάυτης μὲν ὖν καὶ γενεᾶς, καὶ αἵματος ἡ στρατονίκη, uſes the very terms of Homer, when he makes his heroes ſay,

Ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὔχομαι εἶναι.

(2) It was the cuſtom among princes to keep an exact regiſter of whatever was tranſacted in the court. Of this we have inſtances

of gold, he delivered them to the quæſtors for the uſe of the commonwealth.

In another caſtle called Cænon, Pompey ſeized upon ſeveral ſecret writings of Mithridates, which he peruſed with no ſmall pleaſure, as they diſcovered very clearly the King's diſpoſition. For there were memoirs whereby it appeared, (2) that beſide many others, he had deſtroyed his own ſon Ariarathes by poiſon, as alſo Alcæus the Sardian, becauſe he had got the better of him in an horſe-race. There were likewiſe ſeveral interpretations of dreams that he or ſome of his concubines had had. Beſide theſe, there were ſome wanton love letters which had paſſed between him and his concubine Monima. Theophanes tells us, that there was found likewiſe an oration of Rutilius, wherein he attempted to exaſperate him againſt the Romans, and to perſuade him to put to death all of them that were in Aſia: though moſt men juſtly ſuppoſe this to be a malicious invention of Theophanes, who hated Rutilius, a man in nothing like himſelf (3); or perhaps he might ſay it to gratify Pompey, whoſe father is deſcribed by Rutilius in his hiſtory as one of the vileſt of men.

From thence Pompey came to the city of Amiſus, where his ambition led him to commit the ſame odious actions which he had before ſeverely condemned in another. For whereas he had reproached Lucullus, for having, while the war yet ſubſiſted, taken upon him to eſtabliſh laws, and diſtribute rewards and

ſtances in the book of Eſther.

(3) This is Publius Rutilius Rufus, who had been Conſul in the year of Rome 649. Cicero gives him this great character, "neque "in urbe alter ſanctior, vel inte-"grior." For this reaſon Plutarch ſays that Theophanes hated him, becauſe he was in nothing like him. Rutilius was a good hiſtorian, and wrote the hiſtory of the Romans in Greek, which was of great ſervice to Appian. He was baniſhed into Aſia, and when Sylla recalled him he would not return; upon which Seneca ſays very well, "æquiore animo paſſus eſt ſe pa-"triæ eripi, quam ſibi exilium. It is very likely that a man of his probity wrote nothing relating to Strabo, Pompey's father, but what was exactly true.

and honours, which conquerors uſe to do only when a war is brought to an end; yet now he himſelf, whilſt Mithridates was ſtill in poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Boſphorus, and at the head of a powerful army, as if all were ended, did juſt the ſame thing, regulating the provinces, and diſtributing rewards. Many great commanders and princes having flocked to him, together with no leſs than twelve barbarian kings, he to gratify them when he wrote to the King of Parthia, would not condeſcend (as others uſed to do) in the ſuperſcription of his letter to give him his title of King of Kings.

He had a great deſire to make himſelf maſter of Syria, and to march through Arabia to the Red-ſea, that he might extend his conqueſts every way to the great ocean that encompaſſes the whole earth. For in Africa he was the firſt Roman that advanced his victories to the ocean; in Spain he had enlarged the Roman empire, extending its bounds to the Atlantick ſea, and in his late purſuit of the Albanians he wanted but little of reaching the Hyrcanian ſea. He therefore raiſed his camp, deſigning to bring the Red ſea within the circuit of his expedition, eſpecially when he ſaw how difficult it was to purſue Mithridates with an army, and that he proved more troubleſome to the Romans when he fled from them, than when he ſtood, and encountered them. Therefore upon his departure, he ſaid, "he left "to Mithridates a more formidable enemy than himſelf," meaning famine; for which purpoſe he appointed a guard of ſhips to lye in wait for the merchants that ſailed to the Boſphorus, having prohibited all upon pain of death to carry proviſions or merchandizes thither.

Then he ſet forward with the greateſt part of his army; and in his march happening to find unin-

terred

(4) Plutarch paſſes over this affair too ſlightly, without making the leaſt mention of the temple of Jeruſalem which was taken by force with the loſs of more than twelve thouſand Jews. Pompey entered into it, but had the moderation not to touch any of the holy utenſils, or the treaſure belonging to it. Plutarch migh

terred ſeveral dead bodies of thoſe who had been unfortunately ſlain under the conduct of Triarius in an engagement with Mithridates, he buried them with great ſplendor and magnificence, the neglect of which, it is thought, was a principal cauſe of the hatred which the army bore to Lucullus. Pompey having now by his forces under the command of Afranius ſubdued the Arabians that inhabit about mount Amanus, himſelf invaded Syria; and finding it deſtitute of any natural and lawful Prince, he reduced it into the form of a province, and brought it under the dominion of the Romans. He likewiſe (4) conquered Judæa, and took King Ariſtobulus priſoner. Some cities he built anew, and others he ſet at liberty, chaſtiſing thoſe tyrants who had enſlaved them. The greateſt part of the time he ſpent there was employed in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and in deciding the controverſies of kings and ſtates; and where he himſelf could not be preſent in perſon, he ſent his friends with commiſſion to act for him, Thus when there aroſe a difference betwixt the Armenians and Parthians concerning a country to which they both laid claim, and the judgment was referred to him, he commiſſioned three perſons to be judges and arbitrators of the controverſy. For though the fame of his power was great, yet his reputation for virtue and clemency was not leſs; and by this he procured great indulgence for the offences committed by his friends about him. For although it was not in his nature to check or chaſtiſe an offender, yet he behaved in ſuch a manner to thoſe who addreſſed their complaints to him, that they always went away contented, and patiently ſubmitted to the avarice and oppreſſion of his officers. The perſon who had the greateſt power and influence with him, was Demetrius his

might have taken notice of the golden vine preſented to Pompey by Ariſtobulus, valued at five hundred talents. Strabo ſays he ſaw it in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome, where it was conſecrated.

 (5) The

his freedman, a youth of good underſtanding, but too inſolent in his good fortune; the following ſtory is related of him. Cato the philoſopher, being as yet a young man, though in high reputation, and of great dignity of mind, took a journey to Antioch in Pompey's abſence, to ſee that city. He, as his cuſtom was, walked on foot, and his friends accompanied him on horſeback. When he came near the city, he perceived a great croud about the gate, and one ſide of the way lined with young men, and the other with boys, all in white. This ſight diſpleaſed him much, for he thought it was a compliment paid to him, whereas he did not deſire any ſuch mark of reſpect. However he bid his companions alight and walk with him. As they drew near, the maſter of the ceremonies came out with a garland on his head, and a wand in his hand, and enquired, "Where they "had left Demetrius? and when he would come?" Upon this Cato's companions burſt into laughter; but Cato ſaid only, "Alas poor city!" and paſſed by without any other anſwer. But Pompey himſelf rendered Demetrius leſs odious to others by enduring his inſolence towards himſelf. For it is reported that frequently when Pompey had invited his friends to an entertainment, and was waiting to receive them, Demetrius in the mean time would place himſelf at the table with his (5) cap inſolently pulled over his ears. Before his return into Italy, he had purchaſed the pleaſanteſt Villas about Rome, with magnificent apartments for entertaining his friends, and ſumptuous gardens, called from his name the gardens of Demetrius; though Pompey himſelf was contented with a mean and indifferent habitation till his third triumph. Afterwards, it is true, when he had erected that famous and ſtately theatre for the people of Rome, he built (as an appendix to it) an houſe for himſelf, more ſplendid than his

(5) The word ἱμάτιον ſignifies in this place a cap, or bonnet, and not the flaps of a garment. It is well known that the

his former, but ſtill too plain to expoſe him to envy; ſo that he who came to be maſter of that houſe after Pompey, could not but admire at it, and aſked where Pompey the Great uſed to ſup? Thus are theſe things reported.

The King of Arabia Petræa, who had hitherto deſpiſed the power of the Romans, now began to think it very formidable, and therefore diſpatched letters to Pompey, wherein he promiſed to ſubmit to him, and to do whatever he ſhould command. However Pompey being deſirous to confirm him in thoſe ſentiments, marched on towards Petra. This expedition did not entirely eſcape cenſure from the common ſoldiers, who charged him with undertaking it merely to decline the purſuit of Mithridates; whereas they thought themſelves bound to turn their arms againſt him as their inveterate enemy, who was now reviving the war again, and making preparations (as it was reported) to lead his army through Scythia and Pannonia into Italy. Pompey, on the other ſide, judging it eaſier to ſubdue his forces in battle, than to ſeize his perſon in flight, reſolved not to tire himſelf out in a vain purſuit, but rather to ſpend the mean time in diverting the war upon another enemy. But fortune reſolved the doubt; for whilſt he was yet not far from Petra, and had pitched his tents, and encamped for that day, as he was exerciſing himſelf on horſeback without the camp ſome meſſengers came with letters out of Pontus. It was eaſily perceived even when they were at a diſtance that they brought good news, by the heads of their javelins which were crowned with branches of laurel. The ſoldiers, as ſoon as they ſaw them, flocked immediately to Pompey, who notwithſtanding was deſirous to make an end of his exerciſe; but when they began to be clamorous and importunate, he alighted from his horſe, and taking the

the cap was a token of enfranchiſement; and ſuch as had been newly made free uſed ordinarily to wear a cap, though it

the letters, went before them into the camp. There being no tribunal prepared, the ſoldiers were too impatient to raiſe one, ſuch as they uſed to erect by cutting up thick turfs of earth, and piling them one upon another; but through eagerneſs and haſte they heaped up a pile of pack-ſaddles, and Pompey ſtanding upon that, told them "that Mithridates was dead, that he had laid "violent hands upon himſelf, upon the revolt of his ſon "Pharnaces, and that Pharnaces had taken every thing "into his hands, which he did (as his letters mentioned) "in right of himſelf and the Romans." Upon this news the whole army expreſſed their joy, as we may well imagine, and ſpent their time in ſacrificing and feaſting, as if in the perſon of Mithridates alone their had died many thouſands of their enemies.

Pompey having thus brought this war to an end with much more eaſe than was expected, departed forthwith out of Arabia, and paſſing quickly through the intermediate provinces, came at length to the city of Amiſus. There he received many magnificent preſents from Pharnaces, (6) and ſeveral bodies of the late princes of the royal family, together with that of Mithridates himſelf, which was not eaſy to be known by the face, (for thoſe that embalmed him had not dried up his brain;) but thoſe who were curious to ſee him knew him by the ſcars there. Pompey himſelf could not bear to ſee him; but to avert the wrath of the Gods, he ſent it away to the city of Sinope. He admired the richneſs of his robe, no leſs than the ſize and ſplendor of his armour. The ſcabbard of his ſword, which coſt four hundred talents, was ſtolen by Publius, and ſold to Ariarathes; his diadem

was the general cuſtom among the Romans to go bare-headed.

(6) Pharnaces ſent thoſe bodies to Pompey for his further aſſurance, and to let him know that he had nothing to fear from the houſe of Mithridates.

(7) This in my opinion is the true ſenſe of thoſe words περὶ τὴν καθ' ὅλης ζητήσεως. This Hermagoras had written a treatiſe concerning the principles of rhetorick, and was for reducing Invention under ſome general heads, which Poſidonius would not

diadem which was of admirable workmanſhip, Caius the foſter-brother of Mithridates gave privately to Fauſtus the ſon of Sylla at his earneſt requeſt. All this Pompey was ignorant of; but afterwards when Pharnaces diſcovered it, he puniſhed thoſe who had embezzled them.

Pompey now having ſettled all things in that province, marched homewards in greater pomp and ſtate than ever. For when he came to Mitylene, he gave the citizens their freedom upon the interceſſion of Theophanes, and was preſent at the anniverſary exerciſes or contentions of the poets who at that time had no other ſubject than the actions of Pompey. Being exceedingly pleaſed with the theatre itſelf, he drew a model of it, intending to erect one in Rome in the ſame form, but larger and more magnificent. When he came to Rhodes, he heard the declamations of all the ſophiſts, and gave to each of them a talent. Poſidonius has written the diſputation which he held before him againſt Hermagorus the rhetorician, in confutation of his opinion concerning (7) Invention in general. At Athens he behaved in the ſame manner; he alſo gave fifty talents towards the repairing and beautifying the city. He now expected to return into Italy with greater glory than any man had ever acquired before; he had likewiſe a paſſionate deſire to be ſeen of his family, where he thought he was expected with equal impatience. But that God, whoſe province it is always to mix ſome ingredient of evil even with the greateſt and moſt ſplendid favours of fortune, had been long preparing to embitter his return to his family; for (8) Mutia during his abſence

not allow of, any more than Cicero, who in his firſt book de Inventione Retorica, ſays, "Nam "Hermagoras quidem, nec quid "dicat attendere, nec quid pollice- "atur intelligere videtur, qui ora- "toris materiam in cauſam, & "quæſtionem dividat." Poſidonius was of Apamea, and was Cicero's maſter. He is not to be confounded with Poſidonius of Alexandria, who had been Zeno's diſciple, and was dead long before.

(8) She was ſiſter to Q. Metellus Celer, and Q. Metellus Nepos,

abſence had diſhonoured his bed. Whilſt he was at a diſtance, he gave little heed to the report; but when he drew nearer to Italy, and was more at leiſure to conſider the accuſation, being convinced of the truth of it, he ſent her a bill of divorce; but neither then in writing, nor afterwards in diſcourſe, did he ever give a reaſon why he diſcharged her; but the cauſe is mentioned in Cicero's Epiſtles.

There were various rumours ſcattered abroad concerning Pompey, which were carried to Rome before him, and the people were in great agitation, thinking that he deſigned to march with his army directly into the city, and eſtabliſh himſelf in an abſolute power. Craſſus upon this, taking with him his children and his money withdrew out of the city, either being really afraid, or (as is moſt probable) pretending to give credit to the calumny, that he might the more exaſperate the people. Pompey therefore, as ſoon as he entered Italy, aſſembled his army, and having made an oration ſuitable to the circumſtances of affairs, and aſſured them of his regard and affection, he commanded them to depart to their ſeveral habitations, only remembering to meet again at his triumph. This diſbanding of the army, the news of which was ſoon ſpread all over Italy, produced a very remarkable effect. For when the cities ſaw Pompey the Great unarmed, and with a ſmall train of friends only, as if he was returning from an ordinary journey, they came pouring in upon him out of pure affection and reſpect, and conducted him to Rome with far greater forces than thoſe he had diſbanded; ſo that if he had deſigned to make any innovation in the ſtate, he might have done it without the aſſiſtance of his army.

As

and was debauched by Cæſar. For this reaſon when Pompey eſpouſed the daughter of this paramour of his wife, he was reproached " that after having had three chil- " dren by her he turned her out of " doors, and that to gratify his " ambition he had condeſcended to marry

As the law permitted no man to enter into the city before his triumph, he ſent to the ſenate, entreating them to gratify him by proroguing the election of Conſuls, that he might have an opportunity of being preſent and of countenancing Piſo, who was at that time one of the candidates. But this being oppoſed by Cato, he failed of his deſign. However he could not but admire that freedom and boldneſs of ſpeech in Cato, wherewith he alone above all others durſt openly engage in the maintenance of law and juſtice. He therefore had a great deſire to purchaſe his friendſhip at any rate; and as Cato had two nieces, Pompey propoſed to marry one himſelf, and to procure the other for his ſon. But Cato ſuſpecting that the propoſal was made with a deſign of corrupting his integrity by this alliance, would not hearken to it; but his wife and ſiſter, highly reſented his refuſal of an affinity with Pompey the Great. About that time Pompey having a deſign to make Afranius Conſul, gave a ſum of money among the tribes, and the diſtribution was made even in his own gardens, ſo that when this affair came to be publickly known, Pompey was ſeverely cenſured for rendering that office venal which had been beſtowed on him as the reward of his merit, and expoſing it to be purchaſed with money by thoſe, who could not obtain it by their virtue. Upon this Cato ſaid to his wife and ſiſter, "Now, had we "contracted an alliance with Pompey, we ſhould have "ſhared in his diſhonour too." Which when they heard, they could not but acknowledge that he was a better judge of what was decent and honourable.

The ſplendor and magnificence of Pompey's triumph was ſuch, that though it held for the ſpace of two days, yet that time was not ſufficient, and the quantity of the preparations which were not uſed was great enough

"marry the daughter of him, whom "he uſed with a ſigh to call his Æ-"giſthus." Mutia's incontinence muſt have been very publick, ſince Cicero in one of his letters to Atticus ſays, "Divortium Mu-"tiæ vehementer probatur." Lib. i. Epiſt. 12.

(9) This

enough to have furniſhed out another triumph. In the firſt place, there were tables carried, wherein were written the names and titles of all the vanquiſhed nations, ſuch as Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Meſopotamia, Phœnicia, Palæſtine, Judæa, Arabia; his victory over the pirates whom he totally ſubdued by ſea and land, was alſo recorded there. It appeared that there had been taken no leſs than a thouſand caſtles, nor much leſs than nine hundred cities, together with eight hundred ſhips of the pirates, and that thirty-nine towns which lay deſolate had been repeopled. It was mentioned beſides in theſe tables, that all the tributes throughout the Roman empire before theſe conqueſts amounted but to fifty millions of Drachmas, whereas by his acquiſitions they were advanced to eighty-five millions; and that he had brought into the publick treaſury in ready money, and in gold and ſilver veſſels to the value of twenty thouſand talents, beſide that which had been diſtributed among the ſoldiers, of whom he that received leaſt had an hundred and fifty drachmas for his ſhare. The priſoners of war led in triumph, beſide the captains of the pirates, were the ſon of Tigranes King of Armenia, with his wife and daughter; Zoſime, the wife of King Tigranes himſelf; Ariſtobulus, King of Judæa; the ſiſter of King Mithridates, and her five ſons; and ſome women of Scythia. There were likewiſe the hoſtages of the Albanians and Iberians, and of the King of Comagena; beſides as many trophies as were equal to the number of the battles which he had gained either himſelf in perſon, or by his lieutenants. But that which ſeemed to be his greateſt glory, and to which no other Roman had ever attained, was this, that he made his third triumph over the third part of the world. Other Romans

(9) This number is erroneous; Pompey was at that time forty-five years old; for he was born in the year of Rome 647, and

mans before him had received the honour of three triumphs; but Pompey's firſt triumph was over Africa, his ſecond over Europe, and this his third over Aſia; ſo that all three together ſeemed to declare him the conqueror of the whole world.

As for Pompey's age, thoſe who affect to make the parallel exact in all things betwixt him and Alexander the Great, will not allow him to be quite thirty-four, whereas in truth at that time he was near forty (9). How happy would it have been for him to have died, then while his fortune was like that of Alexander! But through all the remainder of his life his proſperity only rendered him odious, and his calamities were irretrievable. For that great power and authority which he had gained in the city by his extraordinary merit was employed in an unjuſt manner in behalf of his friends; ſo that by advancing their fortunes, he detracted from his own glory, till at laſt he was ruined by the force and greatneſs of his own power. And as the ſtrongeſt places in a city when once taken, inſtead of being any longer a defence are an acceſſion to the force of the enemy: ſo Cæſar having riſen to power by Pompey's means, deſtroyed him by that very power which he himſelf had employed in ſubduing others. And thus it happened.

Lucullus, when he returned out of Aſia, where he had been treated with great indignity by Pompey, met with an honourable reception from the ſenate; and when Pompey was preſent, in order to give a check to his power they paid ſtill greater reſpect to Lucullus, and encouraged him to re-aſſume his authority in the adminiſtration of the government; for he was now grown cold and inactive in buſineſs, having given himſelf up to indolence and pleaſure, and the enjoyment of a ſplendid fortune. However, being now rouſed to action, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed Pompey, and procured thoſe

and his third triumph was in the year 692.

(1) Upon

thoſe acts and decrees of his, which the other had repealed, to be re-eſtabliſhed; and by the aſſiſtance of Cato, he obtained a greater intereſt in the ſenate than Pompey. Pompey being thus overpower found himſelf obliged to fly to the tribunes of the people for refuge, and to court the favour of the young men. Clodius, who who was the moſt daring and profligate of them all, rendered him the mere tool of the populace, expoſing him in a manner very much beneath his dignity, and leading him continually up and down the Forum, to countenance thoſe laws which he propoſed, and the ſpeeches which he made to ingratiate himſelf with the people. And at laſt, as if he had not diſgraced, but honoured him, he demanded of Pompey for his reward, that he ſhould forſake Cicero, who was his friend, and who on many occaſions had exerted himſelf in his ſervice. This reward he obtained in the end: for when Cicero afterwards was under a proſecution, and requeſted Pompey's aſſiſtance, he would not ſo much as admit him into his preſence, but ſhutting his gates againſt thoſe who came to intercede for him, went out at a backdoor; therefore Cicero fearing the event of the trial departed privately from Rome.

About this time Cæſar returning from his province, contrived a ſcheme which brought him into great favour at preſent, and much increaſed his power afterwards; but it proved extremely deſtructive both to Pompey and the commonwealth. He now ſtood candidate for his firſt Conſulſhip; and obſerving the enmity betwixt Pompey and Craſſus, and finding that by joining with one, he ſhould make the other his enemy, he endeavoured by all means to reconcile them. The deſign in appearence was laudable and advantageous to the publick, but in reality artfully and deeply contrived for the ruin of the ſtate. For oppoſite parties or factions in a commonwealth, like ballaſt equally diſtributed in a ſhip, keep it upright and ſteady; whereas if they combine together, the weight which thus

thus is all thrown to one ſide muſt for want of a counterbalance overſet the whole. Therefore Cato told them who charged all the calamities of Rome upon the diſagreement betwixt Pompey and Cæſar, that they were in a great error, for it was not their late diſcord and enmity, but their former unanimity and friendſhip, that had given the firſt and deepeſt wound to the commonwealth.

To this indeed Cæſar owed his Conſulſhip, which having obtained, he began immediately to ingratiate himſelf with the pooreſt and meaneſt of the commonalty, by propoſing laws for the planting of colonies and for the diſtribution of lands; whereby he debaſed the dignity of his office, acting rather like a tribune of the people than a Conſul. When Bibulus his colleague oppoſed him, and Cato was prepared to ſecond Bibulus, and aſſiſt him vigorouſly, Cæſar brought Pompey to the Roſtrum, and there directing his ſpeech to him before the whole people, demanded his opinion of thoſe laws. Pompey having expreſſed his approbation, Cæſar replied, "If then any man ſhould offer "violence to theſe laws, wilt not thou be ready to aſſiſt "the people? Yes, (replied Pompey) I ſhall always be "ready, and againſt thoſe that threaten with the ſword, "I will appear with ſword and ſhield." Nothing was ever ſaid or done by Pompey to that very day, that ſeemed more inſolent or odious than this; his friends therefore endeavoured to palliate the offence by ſaying it was an expreſſion that dropt from him through inadvertency; but by his actions afterwards it appeared plainly that he was totally devoted to Cæſar; for in a few days Pompey, beyond all men's expectation, married Julia the daughter of Cæſar, who had been engaged before, and was to be married to Cæpio: and to appeaſe Cæpio's reſentment, he gave him his own daughter in marriage, who had been eſpouſed before to Fauſtus the ſon of Sylla: but Cæſar himſelf married Calpurnia the daughter of Piſo.

Upon

Upon this, Pompey filling the city with ſoldiers, carried all things by force as he pleaſed; for as Bibulus the Conſul was going into the Forum, accompanied by Lucullus and Cato, they fell upon his officers on a ſudden, and broke the rods, and ſome body threw a pan of ordure upon the head of Bibulus himſelf; whilſt two of the tribunes of the people, who accompanied him, were deſperately wounded in the fray. By theſe means having cleared the Forum of all their adverſaries, the law for the diviſion of lands was paſſed. And the populace being caught with this bait, became entirely obedient to them, and without any debate or heſitation paſſed unanimouſly whatever they propounded. Thus they confirmed all thoſe decrees of Pompey which were conteſted by Lucullus; to Cæſar they granted the provinces of Gallia Ciſalpina and Tranſalpina, together with Illyricum, for five years, and likewiſe an army of four entire legions; and for the year enſuing, Piſo the father-in-law, of Cæſar, and Gabinius, one of the chief flatterers of Pompey, were elected Conſuls.

During all theſe tranſactions, Bibulus kept cloſe within doors, nor did he appear publickly for the laſt eight months of his Conſulſhip (1), but contented himſelf with ſending out proclamations full of bitter invectives and accuſations againſt them both. Cato as if he had been divinely inſpired, continually propheſied in the ſenate the calamities that would befal the commonwealth and Pompey. But Lucullus totally retired from buſineſs as one who by reaſon of his age was no longer fit to engage in publick affairs; upon which occaſion Pompey ſaid, "That Luxury was much more "unſeaſonable for an old man than buſineſs." But notwithſtanding this he himſelf not long after grew indolent and

(1) Upon this the wits of Rome, when they were to mention the events of that year, inſtead of ſaying "Under the Con-"ſulſhip of Cæſar and Bibilus," ſaid "Under the Conſulſhip of "Julius and Cæſar."

(2) This happened under the Conſulſhip of Philippus and Marcellinus, in the year of Rome 697, as

and luxurious, wantoning in the embraces of his young wife, whom he never quitted, but ſpent almoſt all his time with her at his country-ſeats, and gardens of pleaſure, neglecting the buſineſs of the commonwealth. So that Clodius, who was then tribune of the people, began to deſpiſe him, and engage in many bold attempts againſt him. For when he had baniſhed Cicero, and ſent away Cato into Cyprus under a ſpecious pretence of war, when Cæſar was gone upon his expedition into Gaul, and he found that the populace was devoted to him, as a man whoſe actions were all directed to pleaſe them, he attempted immediately to repeal ſeveral of Pompey's decrees. Accordingly he took Tigranes out of priſon, and led him about with him as his companion: he likewiſe commenced proſecutions againſt ſeveral of Pompey's friends, deſigning by theſe meaſures to make an eſtimate of Pompey's power and intereſt. At laſt, when Pompey came one day into the Forum to aſſiſt in a certain cauſe, (2) Clodius, accompanied with a croud of diſſolute and deſperate ruffians, and ſtanding up in an eminent place above the reſt, aſked theſe queſtions; "Who is the licentious General? What man "is that, who ſeeks for a man? Who is it that ſcratches "his head with one finger?" His attendants, like a chorus on the ſtage, at the ſignal of ſhaking his gown, anſwered each queſtion, roaring out aloud Pompey. This indeed was no ſmall affliction to Pompey, a man unaccuſtomed to reproach and inſult, and altogether unexperienced in combats of this kind. But he was ſtill more grieved, when he came to underſtand that the ſenate were pleaſed to ſee him treated with ſuch contempt, and looked upon it as a juſt puniſhment for his treachery to Cicero, but when from words they came to blows in the Forum, and ſeveral were wounded on

(2) as appears by Dion's account, lib. xxxix. that is, two years after what Plutarch is going to relate concerning Clodius's ſervant, who was taken with a ſword. He does not here keep exactly to the order of time.

(3) Dion

on both ſides, and when one of Clodius's ſlaves was apprehended, creeping through the croud towards Pompey with a ſword in his hand; Pompey laying hold of this pretence, and fearing beſides Clodius's inſolence and reproaches, never would go to any publick aſſemblies, during all the time he was tribune, but kept cloſe at home, and paſſed his time in conſulting with his friends' by what means he might beſt allay the diſpleaſure of the ſenate and nobles againſt him. Culleo adviſed him to divorce Julia, and to exchange Cæſars friendſhip for that of the ſenate; but this he would not hearken to. Others adviſed him to call home Cicero from baniſhment, a man who was always the great adverſary of Clodius, and a great favourite of the ſenate; to this he conſented; and having brought Cicero's brother into the Forum, attended with a ſtrong party, to petition for his return, after a warm diſpute, wherein ſeveral were wounded and ſome ſlain, he overcame Clodius. Cicero being reſtored by a decree of the people, immediately reconciled the ſenate to Pompey; and withal, by effectually recommending the law for the importation of corn, did again, in a manner, make Pompey ſovereign of all the Roman empire by ſea and land. For by that law he had the command of all the ports and markets, the ſale of proviſions was directed by him, and in ſhort all concerns both of the merchants and huſbandmen were under his juriſdiction. But Clodius ſaid, "That the law was not "made becauſe of the ſcarcity of corn, but the "ſcarcity of corn was made, that they might paſs a "law, whereby that power of his, which was now grown "feeble and conſumptive, might be revived again, and "Pompey reinſtated in a new empire." Others looked upon it as a contrivance of Spinther the Conſul, whoſe deſign it was to occupy Pompey in a greater employment, that he himſelf might be ſent to the aſſiſtance of King Ptolemy. However Canidius the tribune propoſed a law to ſend Pompey without an army, and attended only with two lictors, as an arbitrator betwixt the

the King and his subjects of Alexandria. This law did not seem unacceptable to Pompey; but the senate rejected it, upon a pretence that they were unwilling to hazard his person. However, there were found several writings scattered about the Forum and senate-house, intimating how grateful it would be to Ptolemy to have Pompey appointed for his General instead of Spinther. Timagenes adds, that Ptolemy left Egypt, and came to Rome, not out of necessity, but purely upon the persuasion of Theophanes, who designed to give Pompey an occasion of enriching himself and of obtaining a new command. But though the villainous character of Theophanes might render this story probable, yet the noble disposition of Pompey is a much stronger argument against it; for he was incapable of such mean disingenuous artifices, even in favour of his ambition.

The whole care of providing corn being committed to Pompey, he sent abroad his factors and agents into all quarters, and he himself sailing into Sicily, Sardinia, and Africa, collected great quantities. As he was just ready to embark in order to return home, there arose a great storm so that his pilots were unwilling to set sail. But Pompey himself going first aboard, commanded the mariners to weigh anchor, crying out, "It is necessary for me to go, but it is not "necessary for me to live." This ardour and resolution was seconded by fortune, so that he made a prosperous voyage, and stored all the markets in Rome with corn, and covered the sea with ships. Such was the quantity of provisions imported, that there was a sufficient supply, not only for the city of Rome, but for foreigners too; and plenty dispersed itself, like a copious fountain through many streams, into all parts of Italy.

In the mean time Cæsar was growing great by his conquests in Gaul; and when he seemed to be furthest distant from Rome, and to be entirely occupied in the affairs of Belgia, Suevia, and Britain, then was he

working craftily and ſecretly in the midſt of the people, and undermining Pompey in his chief deſigns. For his principal deſign was not to ſubdue the barbarians, but by his combats with them to harden and invigorate his ſoldiers (as a body is ſtrengthened by hunting and the like exerciſes) that they might be formidable and invincible when employed againſt others. The gold and ſilver, and the reſt of the treaſures and ſpoils which he had taken from ſuch a vaſt number of enemies he ſent to Rome, in order to ſtrengthen his intereſt there, diſtributing them in preſents to the Ædiles, Prætors, and Conſuls, together with their wives, whereby he purchaſed a multitude of friends; ſo that when he returned over the Alps, and took up his winter-quarters in the city of Luca, not only an infinite number of the common people both men and women eagerly flocked to him, but likewiſe two hundred ſenators, among whom were Pompey and Craſſus; and there were to be ſeen at once before Cæſar's gates no leſs than a hundred and twenty Faſces of proconſuls and prætors. As for the reſt, he ſent them all away with rich preſents and great expectations; but he entered into an agreement with Craſſus and Pompey, that they ſhould ſtand candidates for the Conſulſhip next year; that he ſhould ſend a great number of ſoldiers to give their votes at the election; that as ſoon as they were elected, they ſhould uſe their intereſt to have the government of ſome provinces and armies aſſigned to themſelves, and that he ſhould have his preſent command confirmed to him for five years more. But afterwards, when theſe deſigns came to be diſcovered and publickly talked of, they gave great offence to the chief men of Rome; and therefore Marcellinus once in a full aſſembly of the

(3) Dion makes him return an anſwer, which ſeems more agreeable to his character. "It is "not," ſaid he, "for the ſake of "the honeſt citizens that I deſire "any ſhare in the magiſtracy; "but it is on purpoſe to reſtrain "the diſhoneſt and ſeditious, that "I now demand the Conſulſhip."

(4) Whenever the people were aſſembled

the people demanded of them both, "Whether they de-"signed to sue for the Consulship or no?" And being urged by the people for their answer, Pompey spake first, and told them, "Perhaps he would sue for it, perhaps "he would not (3). But Crassus answered more mildly, "that he should do what appeared to him to be most "advantageous to the commonwealth." Marcellinus then addressed himself again to Pompey and spoke with great severity; upon which he replied, "that Marcelli-"nus was the most ungrateful of men, since by his "means of a mute he was made an orator, and though "starving before, was now glutted even to a vomit."

Though others now declined suing for the Consulship, yet Cato persuaded and encouraged Lucius Domitius not to desist; "For," said he, "the contest now is "not for obtaining the Consulship, but for securing our "liberty against tyrants and usurpers." Therefore Pompey's party fearing the inflexible constancy of Cato, lest, as he had such an ascendant in the senate, he should likewise pervert and draw after him all the sober part of the commonalty, resolved to prevent Domitius's entrance into the Forum. For this purpose they sent in a band of armed men, who slew the torch-bearer of Domitius, as he was leading the way before him, and put all the rest of his company to flight; Cato retired last of all, having received a wound in his right arm in defence of Domitius. Having by these practices seized upon the Consulship, they used as little moderation in the exercise of their power, as they had shown in the obtaining it. For in the first place, when the people were chusing Cato Prætor, and just ready to give their votes, Pompey broke up the assembly, pretending that he saw an inauspicious flight of birds (4); after which having corrupted the tribes, they

assembled in order to poll, if the Consul, or some other magistrate, declared he observed some inauspicious birds in the heavens, the assembly broke up immediately. So that the magistrate never wanted a pretext to stop any thing from passing which was not agreeable to his interest, or humour. To pre-

they declared Antias and Vatinius Prætors. Then in purſuance of their agreement with Cæſar, a decree was propoſed by Trebonius the tribune, and ratified by the people, for continuing Cæſar in his command for five years more; to Craſſus Syria and the Parthian war were aſſigned; and to Pompey himſelf all Africa, together with both the Spains, and four legions of ſoldiers, two of which he lent to Cæſar upon his requeſt, for the wars in Gaul.

Craſſus upon the expiration of his Conſulſhip departed immediately into his province; but Pompey ſpent ſome time in Rome, upon the opening or dedication of his theatre, where he exhibited to the people entertainments of muſick, gymnaſtick exerciſes, and combats with wild beaſts, wherein five hundred lions were ſlain; but that ſpectacle which raiſed the greateſt aſtoniſhment and terror was the combat with elephants, which concluded the whole (5).

Theſe magnificent entertainments procured him great love and eſteem from the people; but on the other hand he cauſed as much diſcontent by committing the care of his provinces and legions to ſuch of his lieutenants as were moſt in his favour, whilſt he ſpent his time in Italy, going about continually from one Villa to another with his wife, either becauſe he was extremely fond of her, or becauſe he was unwilling to leave her on account of her fondneſs for him. It is certain, that Julia's love for her huſband was very much celebrated; not that Pompey was then in the flower of his age; but her affection for him was owing to the aſſurance ſhe had of his conſtancy, and to the charms of his converſation, which, notwithſtanding his natural gravity, was agreeable and chearful, and extremely engaging with the women, unleſs we will

vent which abuſe, Clodius had made a law, "That no magiſtrate "ſhould obſerve tokens in the "heavens whilſt the people were "aſſembled.

(5) Dion ſays that there were eighteen elephants that fought, and that ſome of them being wounded ſeemed to cry out for quarter, and to complain to the Romans

will reject the teſtimony of Flora the courtezan. A tumult once happening in the publick aſſembly at an election of Ædiles, and ſeveral perſons about Pompey being ſlain, he, finding himſelf covered with blood, changed his clothes. The ſervants who carried home his clothes ran thither in great hurry and confuſion; and Julia (who was then with child) ſeeing his gown all ſtained with blood, immediately fainted away, and was with great difficulty recovered; however, through the terror and agitation of her mind, ſhe fell in labour and miſcarried. Wherefore even thoſe who chiefly cenſured Pompey for his friendſhip to Cæſar, could not reprove him for his affection to his wife. Afterwards ſhe was pregnant again, and was brought to-bed of a daughter, but died in childbed; neither did the infant outlive her mother many days. Pompey had prepared all things for the interment of her corpſe at his ſeat near Alba; but the people ſeized upon it by force, and buried it in the Campus Martius, more out of concern for her than regard either to Pompey or Cæſar; and yet of the two, they ſeemed to ſhow more reſpect to Cæſar though abſent, than to Pompey though preſent.

As ſoon as the death of Julia had diſſolved that alliance which hitherto had been a diſguiſe rather than reſtraint to the ambition of theſe men, tumults began to riſe in the city, and all the public tranſactions and ſpeeches ſeemed to manifeſt a ſpirit of diſcord and ſedition. Beſides, not long after, intelligence was brought from Parthia of the death of Craſſus; whereby another great obſtacle to a civil war was removed; for the fear of him preſerved them both from coming to extremities againſt each other; but when fortune had taken away this champion, who, if either of them

Romans of the injuſtice that had been done them. For as they were putting them on ſhipboard in Africa, they who had the care of them took an oath they ſhould not be injured; the Romans therefore being moved with compaſſion ſaved them.

them had foiled his antagoniſt, was able to cope with the victor, you might then ſay with the comedian,

Preparing for the ſtrife each wreſtler ſtands,
His body rubs with oil, with duſt his hands.

So inconſiderable a thing is fortune in reſpect of the human mind, and ſo inſufficient to ſatisfy its boundleſs deſires, that an empire of that vaſt extent could not content the ambition of two men. Though they knew and had read (6) that when the empire of the univerſe was divided by lot among three Gods, each God ſat down contented with his own ſhare, yet they thought the whole Roman empire not ſufficient for them, though they were but two.

Pompey in an oration to the people, told them plainly, "that he ever came into office before he ex-"pected he ſhould, and that he always left it ſooner "than they expected he would;" and indeed, the diſbanding of his armies was a proof of this. Yet when he perceived that Cæſar would not ſo willingly diſcharge his forces, he then endeavoured to ſtrengthen himſelf againſt him by offices and commands in the city; and this he did without attempting any other innovation; nor would he have it thought that he had any diſtruſt or fear of Cæſar, but rather that he neglected and deſpiſed him. But when he perceived that the offices were not diſtributed as he would have them, the citizens having been corrupted by money, he thought it more expedient for his purpoſe to have the city left in a ſtate of anarchy. Upon this it was generally ſaid that there was a neceſſity for chuſing a Dictator, Lucilius the tribune firſt ventured to propoſe it in publick, and exhorted the people to make choice of Pompey for that dignity; but being ſeverely reprimanded by Cato for it, he had like to have been turned out of

(6) Plutarch alludes here to a paſſage in the fifteenth book of the Iliad, where Neptune ſays to Iris,

"Aſſign'd by lot our triple rule
"we know;
"Infernal Pluto ſways the ſhades
"below;

O'er

of his office. This made many of Pompey's friends ſtand up in his behalf, and declare that he neither aſked nor wiſhed for the Dictatorſhip. Upon this Cato highly applauded Pompey, and recommended it earneſtly to him to take care that all things ſhould be conducted in a regular and legal manner; and as he could not for ſhame refuſe to comply with ſuch a requeſt, Domitius and Meſſala were elected Conſuls.

Afterwards, when the city fell again into the ſame anarchy and confuſion, and many perſons talked of chuſing a Dictator even with greater boldneſs than before, Cato, fearing leſt he ſhould be forced to it at laſt, determined to divert Pompey from aiming at that abſolute and uncontroulable power by giving him an office of more legal authority: nay even Bibulus, who was Pompey's enemy, firſt propoſed in the ſenate, that Pompey ſhould be created Conſul alone; alledging, "That by "this means either the commonwealth would be freed "from its preſent confuſion, or that its bondage ſhould "be leſſened by ſerving the worthieſt." This was looked upon as a very ſtrange motion, conſidering the man from whom it came; and therefore when Cato ſtood up, every body expected that he would have oppoſed it, and liſtened in profound ſilence; but he told them plainly, "That for his own part he ſhould never have "been the author of that advice himſelf, but ſince it "was propounded by another, his opinion was that it "ſhould be followed;" adding, "That any form of go-"vernment was better than none at all; and that in a "time ſo full of diſtraction, he thought no man fitter to "govern than Pompey." This counſel was unanimouſly approved of, and a decree was paſſed, that Pompey ſhould be made ſole Conſul, and that if he thought it neceſſary to have a collegue, he might chuſe whom he pleaſed, provided it were not till after two months were expired.

Thus

" O'er the wide clouds, and o'er
" the ſtarry plain,
" Etherial Jove extends his high
" domain.
" My court beneath the hoary
" waves I keep,
" And huſh the roarings of the
" ſacred deep. Pope.

Thus was Pompey created and declared ſole Conſul by Sulpitius, who was Interrex during this vacancy. Upon this he addreſſed himſelf with great kindneſs and reſpect to Cato, thanking him for the honour he had done him, and deſiring his aſſiſtance and advice in the adminiſtration of the government. To this Cato replied, "That Pompey had no reaſon to thank him, ſince all "that he had ſaid, was in favour of the commonwealth, "not of Pompey; that he would be always ready to "give him his advice in private if he deſired it, but that "he would be ſure to ſpeak in public what he thought "was for the intereſt of the commonwealth." Such was Cato throughout his whole conduct.

Pompey upon his return into the city married Cornelia the daughter of (7) Metellus Scipio. She was not a virgin, but the widow of Publius the ſon of Craſſus, to whom ſhe had been married when very young, and who died in the Parthian expedition. She had many charms beſide her youth and beauty; for ſhe was well ſkilled in polite literature, in muſick and geometry, and read with profit the precepts of philoſophy. But that which crowned all the reſt was the modeſty and humility of her behaviour, free from that pride and petulance which is frequently found in young women who are poſſeſſed of ſuch qualifications. Her father alſo was very conſiderable, both on account of his family and his perſonal virtues. However, this unequal match was not pleaſing to ſome people; for Cornelia's age was more ſuitable to that of Pompey's ſon than to his own. Beſide this, the wiſer ſort thought the concerns of the city quite neglected, while he (to whom alone they had committed themſelves, and from whom alone, as from their phyſician, they expected the cure of their preſent diſorders) was crowned with garlands, and revelling in his

(7) This Scipio was the ſon of Scipio ſurnamed Naſica, but being adopted into the family of the Metelli, he was called Metellus Scipio.

(8) This was T. Munatius Plancus Burſa, who was accuſed by Cicero, and condemned in ſpite

his nuptial feasts, not considering that this Consulship was a publick calamity, and that it would never have been given him so contrary to law, had his country been in a flourishing state. At first he took cognizance of those who obtained offices by gifts and bribery, and enacted laws for regulating their trials; and in every other part of his office he behaved with great dignity and integrity; so that he restored security, order and tranquillity to their courts of judicature, himself attending there with a band of soldiers. But when his father-in-law Scipio was accused, he sent for the three hundred and sixty judges to his house, and entreated them to be favourable to him; and his accuser, seeing Scipio conducted out of the Forum to his house by the judges themselves, desisted from the prosecution. Pompey was very much censured on this account; and still more in the case of Plancus; for whereas he himself had made a law to forbid any man in the course of his pleading from launching out in praise of the accused, yet he came into court when an accusation was brought against (8) Plancus, and spoke openly in commendation of him. Cato (who happened to be one of the judges) stopping his ears with his hands, told him, "He could not in honour hear a commendation "which was contrary to law." Upon this Cato was set aside from being a judge, before sentence was given; notwithstanding which, Plancus was condemned by the unanimous vote of the rest of the judges, to Pompey's great confusion and dishonour. Shortly after Hypseus, a man of consular dignity, when a prosecution was commenced against him, waited for Pompey's return from his bath to supper, and falling down at his feet, implored his favour; but he disdainfully passed by, saying, "That his importuni-"ties served for nothing but to spoil his supper." This partiality

spite of Pompey's protection, and the great commendations he gave him in court. Cicero was so pleased with his success in that cause that he could not forbear testifying the joy it gave him, in a letter to Marius. Epist. 2. lib 7.

(9) There

partiality in Pompey was highly condemned; however he managed all other things in a regular and unexceptionable manner, and choſe his father-in-law to be his collegue in the Conſulſhip for the laſt five months. His provinces were continued to him for four years longer, with a commiſſion to take a thouſand talents yearly out of the treaſury for the payment of his army.

This gave occaſion to ſome of Cæſar's friends to demand that ſome conſideration ſhould be had of him too, who had done ſuch ſignal ſervices in war, and fought ſo many battles for the ſervice of the commonwealth, alledging, that he deſerved to obtain a ſecond Conſulſhip, or to have his government in the province where he had fought, continued, that he might command alone and enjoy in peace what he had acquired by war, and that no ſucceſſor might reap the fruits of his labour, and raiſe his fame upon the glory of Cæſar's Actions. As this affair occaſioned ſome debate, Pompey took upon him, as it were out of kindneſs to Cæſar, to allay the indignation which that demand had raiſed in the people, and accordingly told them that he had received a letter from Cæſar, wherein he deſired to have a ſucceſſor, and to be diſcharged from the war, but ſaid that it was reaſonable that he ſhould have leave to ſtand for the Conſulſhip though in his abſence(9). But Cato oppoſed this, ſaying, "That if he "expected any favour from the citizens, he ought to "leave his army, and come in a private capacity to "ſue for it." Pompey made no reply; and as he ſeemed ſo eaſily ſatisfied, he gave a greater ſuſpicion of his real diſpoſition towards Cæſar, eſpecially when under pretence of the Parthian war he ſent for his two legions which he had lent him; however Cæſar, though he well knew for what deſign he wanted them, ſent them home very liberally rewarded.

Some

(9) There was a law by which perſons abſent were forbid to put up for the Conſulſhip. But Pompey added this clauſe to it, "except ſuch as were allowed "by name; by which the law was rendered

Some time after this Pompey recovered of a dangerous fit of ſickneſs which ſeized him at Naples; and the whole city, upon the perſuaſion of Praxagoras, offered ſacrifices to the Gods for his recovery. The neighbouring towns followed their example, and by degrees all Italy did the ſame; ſo that there was not a city either great or ſmall, that did not feaſt and rejoice for many days together. And the number of thoſe that came from all parts to meet him was ſo great, that no place was able to contain them; but the villages, ſea-port towns, and highways were all full of people feaſting and ſacrificing to the Gods. Many went to meet him with garlands on their heads, and tapers in their hands, caſting flowers upon him as he went along; ſo that his journey with ſuch an attendance afforded a moſt magnificent ſpectacle. It is thought however, that this very thing was not one of the leaſt cauſes of the civil war; for the extravagant rejoicings of the peole on this occaſion ſo inflamed the pride and vanity which Pompey's former ſucceſſes had kindled in him, that throwing aſide that caution which had hitherto given ſuch ſafety and ſtability to his good fortune, he gave way to a preſumptuous confidence, and entertained a contempt of Cæſar, as though he could overcome him without arms, and without any laborious effort, and pull him down much more eaſily than he had raiſed him. Beſides, Appius, who was juſt returned from Gaul with the legions Pompey had lent to Cæſar, very much diſparaged his actions there, and raiſed many ſcandalous reports of Cæſar, telling Pompey, "That he was unacquainted with "his own ſtrength and reputation, if he made uſe of any "other forces againſt Cæſar than the very legio ns he ſhould "bring with him; for ſuch was the ſoldiers hatred to Cæ- "ſar, and love to Pompey, that they would all come over "to him upon his firſt appearance." By theſe flatteries Pompey

rendered intirely inſignificant. For they who had the power in their hands, and were at the head of armies, would never fail of gaining ſuch a permiſſion.

(1) We

Pompey was ſtrangely elated; and his confidence rendered him ſo negligent, that he laughed at thoſe who ſeemed to fear a war. And when ſome were ſaying, that if Cæſar ſhould turn his forces againſt the city they could not ſee what power was able to reſiſt him, he ſmiled, and with great unconcern bid them take no care of that, for, ſaid he, "Whenever I ſtamp upon the ground in "any part of Italy, there will riſe up forces enough "in an inſtant both horſe and foot."

Cæſar on the other ſide was more vigorous in his proceedings. He was now not far diſtant from Italy, and was continually ſending ſome of his ſoldiers into the city to attend at all elections: beſide this, he corrupted ſeveral of the magiſtrates with money, and brought them over to his party. Among theſe Paulus the Conſul was gained by a bribe of fifteen hundred talents, and Curio, a tribune of the people, by a diſcharge of all his debts, which were immenſely great, and Mark Anthony, who out of friendſhip to Curio was bound with him for the payment. It is ſaid, that a centurion of Cæſar's waiting at the ſenate-houſe, and hearing that the ſenate refuſed to give him a longer term to continue in his government, clapt his hand upon his ſword, and ſaid, "But this ſhall give it." And indeed all his practices and preparations were in order to this end: though Curio's demands and requeſts in favour of Cæſar ſeemed much more moderate and plauſible; for he only deſired one of theſe two things, either that Pompey ſhould diſband his army, or that Cæſar ſhould be allowed to keep his on foot "For, ſaid "he, if both of them are unarmed, and reduced to a "private ſtate, they will come to an agreement on rea-"ſonable terms; or if they are both in equal autho-"rity, they will be a balance to each other, and ſit "down contented with their lot: but he that weakens "one, does at the ſame time ſtrengthen the other, and ſo "doubles

(1) We are aſſured of the contrary by Dion, who tells us that there was not one who was for Pompey's laying down his arms, and that there were but two perſons who voted for Cæſar;

" doubles that power which he ſtood in fear of before." Marcellus the Conſul only replied to this, " that Cæſar " was a robber, and ſhould be proclaimed an enemy to " the ſtate if he did not diſband his army." However Curio with the aſſiſtance of Anthony and Piſo obtained that the matter in debate ſhould be decided by the votes of the ſenate. Accordingly thoſe being ordered to withdraw who were of opinion, " That Cæſar only ſhould " lay down his army and Pompey command," the majority withdrew. But when it was ordered again for thoſe to withdraw whoſe vote was, " That both ſhould " lay down their arms and neither command," there were but twenty-two for Pompey, all the reſt remaining on Curio's ſide (1). Whereupon he, tranſported with joy, and proud of his conqueſt, ran out among the people, who received him with great applauſe, clapping their hands, and crowning him with garlands and flowers. Pompey was not then preſent in the ſenate, it being unlawful for the General of an army to come into the city: but Marcellus riſing up, ſaid, " That he would " not ſit there hearing ſpeeches, when he ſaw that ten le- " gions had already paſſed the Alps in their march toward " the city, but that he would ſend a man of equal autho- " rity againſt them in defence of their country." Upon this the city went into mourning as in a publick calamity, and Marcellus (accompanied by the ſenate) went through the city towards Pompey, and when he came up to him, ſpoke thus; " Pompey, I command thee to appear " in defence of thy country with thoſe forces thou haſt at " preſent in readineſs, and to raiſe more with all ſpeed." Lentulus, one of the Conſuls elect for the year following, ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe. But Anthony, much againſt the will of the ſenate, in a publick aſſembly read a letter of Cæſar's containing ſome propoſals which were extremely well adapted to gain the favour of the multitude; for he deſired, that both Pompey

Cæſar one of theſe was called Marcus Cæcilius, and the other was Curio, he who brought the letters from Cæſar.

(2) Lucius

Pompey and he quitting their governments, and diſmiſſing their armies, ſhould ſubmit to the judgment of the people, and give an account of their actions before them; ſo that when Pompey began to make his levies, and muſter up his new raiſed ſoldiers, he found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations: ſome few indeed came in, but thoſe very unwillingly; others would not anſwer to their names, and the generality cried out for peace. Lentulus, notwithſtanding he was now entered upon his Conſulſhip, would not aſſemble the ſenate; for Cicero, who was lately returned from Cilicia, laboured to bring about a reconciliation, propoſing, that Cæſar ſhould leave his province of Gaul and diſband his army, reſerving two legions only, together with the government of Illyricum, and be nominated for a ſecond Conſulſhip. As Pompey diſliked this motion, Cæſars friends were contented that he ſhould retain one legion only; but Lentulus oppoſed this, and Cato cried out, "That Pom-" pey was much to blame for being thus impoſed upon;" ſo that the reconciliation did not take effect.

In the mean time news was brought that Cæſar had taken Ariminum, a great city in Italy, and was marching directly towards Rome with all his forces: but this latter circumſtance was falſe, for he had no more with him at that time than three hundred horſe and five thouſand foot, and would not wait for the body of his army, which lay beyond the Alps, chuſing rather to ſurprize his enemies while they were in confuſion and did not expect him, than by waiting for the reſt of his army to give them time to make preparations for war. For when he was arrived at the banks of the Rubicon, which was the boundary of his province, he there made a halt, and for ſome time ſtood ſilent, pondering in his mind the greatneſs of this daring enterprize. At length (like men who ſhutting their eyes caſt themſelves headlong from a precipice

(2) Lucius Volcatius Tullus.

(3) Plu-

precipice into ſome vaſt yawning gulf) throwing a veil over every thought of danger, he cried out aloud in the Greek language to thoſe about him, "Let the die "be thrown," and immediately paſt the river with his army. No ſooner was the news arrived, but there was a tumult and conſternation in the city, ſuch as never was known in Rome before. All the ſenate and the magiſtrates ran immediately to Pompey; and when Tullus (2) aſked him what forces he had in readineſs for their defence, he ſeemed to pauſe a little, and anſwered with ſome heſitation. "That he had thoſe two "legions ready that Cæſar ſent back, and for his new "raiſed forces, he believed they would ſhortly make up "a body of thirty thouſand men;" but Tullus replied with a loud voice, "O Pompey, thou haſt deceived us!" and immediately gave his advice to diſpatch ambaſſadors to Cæſar. Favonius, (who was not otherwiſe a bad man, but affecting to imitate Cato's freedom of ſpeech, indulged himſelf in a petulant and abuſive manner of talking) bid "Pompey ſtamp upon the ground, and call "forth the forces he had promiſed." But Pompey very patiently bore this unſeaſonable raillery; and when Cato put him in mind of what he had foretold from the beginning concerning Cæſar, he made this anſwer only "That "Cato indeed had ſpoke more like a prophet, but he had "acted more like a friend." Cato then adviſed them to chuſe Pompey General with abſolute power, ſaying, "That thoſe who are the authors of great evils, know "beſt how to cure them." He therefore went immediately into Sicily, the province that was allotted him; and all the reſt of the ſenators likewiſe departed every one to his reſpective government.

Thus almoſt all Italy being in arms, it ſeemed very doubtful what was beſt to be done: for they that were without, came from all parts flocking into the city; and the inhabitants of the city ſeeing the confuſion and diſorder ſo great there, went out and forſook it as faſt: they that were willing to obey were found too weak, and the diſobedient were too ſtrong to be governed

governed by the magiſtrates. For it was impoſſible to allay the fears of the people; nor would they ſuffer Pompey to follow his own judgment, every man preſſing him to act according to his particular fancy, whether it proceeded from doubt, fear, or grief; ſo that even in the ſame day he took contrary reſolutions. Beſides it was altogether as impoſſible to have any good intelligence of the enemy; for what one man reported was contradicted by another, and they both were offended with Pompey if he did not believe them.

Pompey at length having proclaimed by an edict that the ſtate was in danger, commanded all the ſenate to follow him, declaring, "That whoſoever ſtaid "behind ſhould be judged a confederate of Cæſar;" and about the duſk of the evening he left the city. The Conſuls alſo followed after in a hurry, without offering any ſacrifice to the Gods, as was uſual before a war. In the midſt of all theſe calamities, Pompey could not but think himſelf extremely fortunate in the univerſal love and good-will of the people; for though many condemned the war, yet no man hated the General; ſo that there were more to be found of thoſe who went out of Rome becauſe they could not forſake Pompey, than of thoſe who left it for the ſake of liberty.

A few days after this Cæſar arrived at Rome, and made himſelf maſter of it, treating all that were left behind with great humanity, which ſerved to allay their fears and apprehenſions. But when Metellus, one of the tribunes, oppoſed his taking any of the money out of the publick treaſury, Cæſar threatened to kill him, adding an expreſſion ſtill more terrible than his threats, "That it was eaſier for him to do it than "ſay it." By this means removing Metellus, and ſupplying himſelf with as much money as he wanted, he ſet

(3) Plutarch takes no notice of Brunduſium, which held out of what paſſed during the ſiege nine days; and yet it deſerved to

ſet forwards in purſuit of Pompey, endeavouring with all ſpeed to drive him out of Italy, before his army, that was in Spain, could join with him.

But Pompey arriving at Brunduſium, and having provided a fleet of ſhips there, ordered the two Conſuls to embark immediately, together with thirty cohorts, and ſent them before him to Dyrrachium. He ſent likewiſe his father-in-law Scipio, and Cnæus his ſon into Syria, to provide a fleet there. In the mean time (3) having barred up the gates of the city, he placed his lighteſt armed ſoldiers as guards upon the walls; and giving expreſs orders that the citizens ſhould keep within doors, he dug trenches (in which he fixed a great number of ſharp ſtakes) throughout all the ſtreets of the city, except only thoſe two which lead down to the haven.

Having in three days time put all the reſt of his army on board without any interruption, he ſuddenly gave the ſignal to thoſe who guarded the walls, who nimbly repairing to the ſhips, immediately embarked and ſet ſail. Cæſar, when he perceived the walls unguarded, imagining that the enemy was fled, made haſte after them, and in the heat of the purſuit had like to have fallen upon the ſtakes in the trenches; but the Brunduſians diſcovering the danger to him, and ſhowing him the way, he fetched a compaſs round the city, and made towards the haven, where he found all the fleet under ſail, excepting only two veſſels that had but a few ſoldiers aboard.

Some are of opinion, that this departure of Pompey is to be reckoned among the beſt of his ſtratagems; but Cæſar himſelf could not but wonder that he who was in poſſeſſion of a ſtrong city, who expected his forces from Spain, and was maſter of the ſea beſides, ſhould abandon Italy. Cicero likewiſe blamed him, for imitating the conduct of Themiſtocles, rather than that

to be mentioned, as it is by Cæſar in the firſt book of the civil wars.

that of Pericles (4), whereas the ſtate of his affairs more reſembled the circumſtances of the latter, than thoſe of the former. However Cæſar ſhowed plainly by his actions, that he greatly feared what length of time might produce, for when he had taken priſoner Numerius (5) a friend of Pompey, he ſent him to Brunduſium, with offers of peace and reconciliation upon equal terms; but Numerius ſailed away with Pompey. And now Cæſar having made himſelf maſter of all Italy in ſixty days, without bloodſhed, was deſirous to purſue Pompey immediately; but being deſtitute of ſhipping, he was forced to divert his courſe, and march into Spain, deſigning to join the forces Pompey had there to his own.

In the mean time Pompey had raiſed a great army both by ſea and land. As for his navy, it was altogether invincible, for there were five hundred ſhips of war, beſides an infinite number of ſmall light veſſels. As for his land forces, the cavalry conſiſted of ſeven thouſand horſe, (6) the flower of Rome and Italy, being all men of conſiderable family and fortune, and of great courage; but the infantry was a mixture of raw and unexperienced ſoldiers, and therefore he exerciſed them daily while he remained at Berœa, where he himſelf was not idle, but performed all his exerciſes as if he had been in the flower of his youth. This raiſed the ſpirits of his ſoldiers extremely, for it was no ſmall encouragement to them to ſee Pompey the Great, at the age of fifty-eight years, ſometimes exerciſing in his armour on foot, and ſometimes when mounted on horſeback drawing out his

(4) Ep. ad Att. L vii. Ep. xi.

(5) Cæſar calls him Cneius Magius.

(6) But Cæſar ſays that this choice body of horſe was almoſt entirely compoſed of ſtrangers. "There were," ſays he, "ſix "hundred Galatians, five hundred "Cappadocians, as many Thracians, two hundred Macedonians, "five hundred Gauls, or Germans, eight hundred men raiſed "out of his own eſtates, or out "of his retinue," and ſo of the reſt, whom he particularly mentions, and tells us to what countries they belonged.

(7) It ſeemed very ſtrange, ſays

his ſword with eaſe in full career, and ſheathing it again as eaſily; and in darting the javelin, he ſhowed not only his ſkill and dexterity in hitting the mark, but his ſtrength and activity in throwing it ſo far, that few of the youngeſt went beyond him.

Several kings and princes of other nations came thither to him; but the Roman magiſtrates were ſo numerous, that they made up a complete ſenate. (7) Labienus forſook his old benefactor Cæſar, (whom he had ſerved throughout all his wars in Gaul) and came over to Pompey; and Brutus the ſon of that Brutus who was put to death in Galatia, a man of great ſpirit, and who to that day had never ſo much as ſaluted or ſpoke to Pompey, (looking upon him as the murderer of his father) came then and ſubmitted himſelf to him as the defender of their liberty. Cicero likewiſe, though he had wrote and adviſed otherwiſe, yet was aſhamed not to be accounted in the number of thoſe who were ready to hazard their lives for the ſafety of their country. And laſt of all there came to him in Macedonia, Tidius Sextius, a man extremely old, and lame of one leg; others indeed laughed at the ſpectacle, but Pompey, as ſoon as he ſaw him, roſe and ran to meet him, eſteeming it no ſmall teſtimony of the goodneſs of his cauſe, that men of ſuch age and infirmities ſhould rather chuſe to be with him in danger, than in ſafety at home. Afterwards, the ſenate being aſſembled, it was decreed upon Cato's motion, "That no Roman citizen ſhould be put to "death but in battle, and that they ſhould not ſack or "plunder any city that was ſubject to the Roman empire.

By

(7) Labienus, ſays Dion, that Labienus could quit the intereſt of Cæſar, who had loaden him with honours, and made him commander in chief of all the forces on the other ſide of the Alps, whilſt he was at Rome. But he gives this reaſon for it. "Labienus, pampered with wealth "and preferments, forgot himſelf "ſo far, as to aſſume a carriage "very unbecoming a perſon in "his circumſtances; ſo that when "Cæſar perceived he was for put-"ting himſelf upon an equal foot "with him, he grew cool towards "him, and treated him with ſome "reſerve, which Labienus reſent-"ing went over to Pompey.

By this Pompey's party grew into ſtill greater reputation, ſo that they who were not at all concerned in the war, either becauſe they dwelt afar off, or were incapable by reaſon of their infirmities, were yet in their opinions of his ſide, and did in all their diſcourſes fight for him, eſteeming his cauſe to be juſt, and looking upon thoſe as enemies both to Gods and men, who wiſhed not victory to Pompey.

Cæſar however ſhowed no leſs moderation and humanity in his ſucceſs; for when he had defeated Pompey's forces in Spain, he left the commanders at their liberty, and took the common ſoldiers into his own pay. Then repaſſing the Alps, and marching through Italy, he came to Brunduſium about the winter ſolſtice, and croſſing the ſea there, landed near Oricum, from whence he diſpatched Vibullius Rufus, an intimate friend of Pompey, whom he had taken in Spain, and brought from thence with him. He had orders to repair to Pompey, and propoſe a conference, wherein they ſhould both agree to diſband their armies in three days, to renew their former friendſhip with ſolemn oaths, and return together into Italy. (8) Pompey again looked upon this as ſome new ſtratagem; and therefore marching down in all haſte towards the ſea-coaſt, he poſſeſſed himſelf of all the forts and places of ſtrength fit to encamp in, and ſecure his land forces, as likewiſe of all the ports and commodious ſtations for ſhips, ſo that whatever wind blew, it was neceſſarily favourable to him, bringing in either proviſion, men, or money. But Cæſar on the contrary was ſo diſtreſſed both by ſea and land, that he was forced to deſire a battle, daily provoking the enemy, and aſſailing them in their very forts. In theſe light ſkirmiſhes he for the moſt part had the advantage; but once he was in danger of being totally defeated and loſing his whole army; for Pompey having

(8) Pompey was then in Candavia, as he was marching out of Macedonia to put his troops into winter quarters at Dyr-

having fought with great reſolution, put his men to flight, and killed two thouſand upon the place; but either he was not able, or he was afraid to force his way together with them into their camp. Upon which Cæſar ſaid to his friends, "That that day would have given an abſolute conqueſt to the enemy, if they had had "a man at their head who knew how to conquer." Pompey's ſoldiers were ſo encouraged by this victory, that they were earneſtly deſirous to come to a deciſive engagement. But Pompey himſelf, though he wrote to foreign kings, princes, and ſtates, as if he were already conqueror, yet was afraid to hazard the ſucceſs of a battle, chuſing rather by delays, and want of proviſions, to tire out thoſe who had never yet been conquered by force of arms, but had always, when they fought in a body, been accuſtomed to victory. Beſides, the infirmities of their age now made them quickly weary of thoſe other hardſhips of war, ſuch as long marches, frequent decampments, making of trenches, and building of fortifications; ſo that they were eager to venture a battle with all ſpeed.

Pompey had hitherto by his perſuaſions pretty well quieted his ſoldiers; but after this laſt engagement, when Cæſar for want of proviſions was forced to raiſe his camp, and had paſſed through Athamania into Theſſaly, it was impoſſible to curb their ſpirits any longer. For all crying out with one voice, Cæſar is fled, ſome were for purſuing him, others for returning into Italy; and ſome ſent their friends and ſervants before-hand into Rome, to hire houſes near the Forum, that they might be in readineſs to ſue for offices in the government. Several went of their own accord to Cornelia, who had been privately ſent to Leſbos by Pompey, and congratulated her upon the concluſion of the war. A council of war being called, Afranius was of opinion, "That Italy ſhould firſt be regained, as that was the "great

Dyrrachium, and Apollonia.

" great prize for which they fought; beſides, they who " were in poſſeſſion of that, would quickly be maſters of " Sicily, Sardinia, Corſica, Spain, and Gaul; but what " was of the greateſt moment, their native country lay " near, ſtretching out her hands for help; and certainly " it could not be conſiſtent with Pompey's honour to leave " her thus expoſed to every kind of indignity, and in " bondage to the ſlaves and flatterers of a tyrant. But " Pompey himſelf, on the contrary, thought it neither " honourable to fly a ſecond time before Cæſar, and be " purſued, when fortune had given him the advantage of " a purſuit; nor indeed lawful to forſake Scipio his fa- " ther in law, and many others of conſular dignity diſ- " perſed throughout Greece and Theſſaly, who muſt ne- " ceſſarily fall into Cæſar's hands, together with all their " wealth and forces. And as to his care for the city of " Rome," that, he ſaid, " would moſt eminently appear, " by fighting in her behalf at a diſtance, whereby ſhe " being every way inſenſible of thoſe calamities that attend " a war, might in peace expect the return of the conqueror.

This being determined, Pompey marched forwards in purſuit of Cæſar, firmly reſolved not to give him battle, but rather to beſiege and diſtreſs him, by following him cloſe, ſtraightening his quarters, and cutting off his ſupplies. For beſide other reaſons that made him form this reſolution, he heard of a combination among the Roman knights, who deſigned as ſoon as Cæſar was overthrown, to humble him too; and therefore ſome report it was on this account that Pompey never employed Cato in any matter of conſequence during the whole war; and now when he purſued Cæſar, he left him to guard his baggage on the coaſt, fearing leſt, after Cæſar was ſubdued, he likewiſe ſhould ſoon be forced by Cato to lay down his authority.

Whilſt

(9) Cæſar has put this folly of Pompey's officers in a very good light, lib. 3. They wrangled and diſputed about the rewards they were to have, and the prieſts offices. Some named the perſons who were to ſucceed annually in the Conſulſhip for the enſuing

Whilſt he was thus ſlowly attending the motions of the enemy, he was loudly accuſed of deſigning not ſo much to circumvent Cæſar as his country and the ſenate, that he might always continue in authority, and keep thoſe for his guards and ſervants, who themſelves were worthy to govern the world. Beſides, Domitius Ænobarbus, by continually calling him Agamemnon, and King of Kings, rendered him very odious. Nor was Favonius's raillery leſs offenſive than the unſeaſonable liberty of ſpeech taken by others, when in drollery he cried out, "My friends, you muſt "not expect to gather any figs in Tuſculum this year. And Lucius Afranius, who had lain under an imputation of treachery for betraying the army in Spain, when he perceived that Pompey induſtriouſly declined an engagement, ſaid, "That he could not but admire "why they who were ſo ready to accuſe him, did not "go themſelves and fight that merchant, as they called "him."

By theſe and many other ſuch ſpeeches, Pompey, whoſe ſenſe of honour was ſo tender that he could not endure reproach, and whoſe reſpect for his friends would not ſuffer him to reſiſt their importunity, was induced, contrary to his better judgment, to follow their vain hopes and deſires; a conduct inexcuſable in the pilot of a ſhip, but how much more in the ſovereign commander of ſuch an army, and ſo many nations! But he, though he had often commended thoſe phyſicians who did not comply with the humourous appetites of their patients, yet could not himſelf deny the requeſt of the diſeaſed part of his army, rather than uſe any ſeverity in the cure. And indeed who would not judge it inſanity in thoſe men, who went up and down the camp, ſuing already for the offices of conſul and Prætor? (9) Nay Spinther, Domitius,

enſuing years; others put in for the forfeited eſtates of thoſe who followed Cæſar. And it was warmly debated in council, whether regard ſhould be had to L. Hirtius, whom Pompey had ſent againſt the Parthians, and whether he might be choſen

mitius, and Scipio, made friends, raiſed factions, and even quarrelled among themſelves, who ſhould ſucceed Cæſar in the dignity of his High-prieſthood, as if they were to engage only with Tigranes King of Armenia, or ſome petty Nabathæan King, not with that Cæſar and his army that had ſtormed a thouſand towns, and ſubdued more than three hundred ſeveral nations, that had obtained the victory in innumerable engagements with the Germans and Gauls, that had taken a million of men priſoners, and ſlain as many upon the ſpot in pitched battles.

ut as ſoon as they came to the fields of Pharſalia, they grew very tumultuous, ſo that they forced him by their importunities to call a council of war, where Labienus General of the horſe ſtood up, and firſt ſolemnly ſwore, "That he would not return out of the "battle till he had put the enemy to flight;" and all the reſt took the ſame oath. That night Pompey dreamed "that as he went into the theatre, the people received "him with great applauſe, and that he adorned the tem "ple of Venus the Victorious with many ſpoils." This viſion partly encouraged, and partly diſheartened him; for he feared leſt he ſhould contribute to raiſe the glory and reputation of Cæſar who was a deſcendant of Venus. Beſides, a panick fear ran through the camp, with ſuch a noiſe that it awaked him out of his ſleep. And about the morning's watch there appeared over Cæſar's camp,

Prætor in his abſence. His friends and relations urged Pompey's promiſe in his behalf, and inſiſted that he who relied on the General's honour ſhould not be deceived. Domitius, Lentulus, and Scipio, diſputed with great vehemence, each putting in his claim to Cæſar's prieſthood. Lentulus founded his pretenſions upon the reſpect due to his age, Domitius upon his intereſt and authority at Rome, and Scipio upon his alliance with Pompey.

(1) Cæſar finding that he could by no means bring Pompey to an engagement, thought it moſt advantageous to remove, and always be upon the march; for he hoped that by his frequent decampments he might eaſier provide for the ſubſiſtance of his army, harraſs that of the enemy, and perhaps meet with a favourable opportunity of fighting. This reſolution being taken, he gave the ſignal for decamping.

(2) This

camp where every thing was perfectly ſtill a great light, and from thence a ſtream of fire like a flaming torch ſhot forth and darted down upon the camp of Pompey; Cæſar himſelf ſays that he ſaw it as he was walking his rounds.

(1) While Cæſar was preparing to raiſe his camp early in the morning in order to march to Scotuſa, and the ſoldiers were buſy in pulling down their tents, and ſending away their cattle and ſervants before them with all their baggage, ſome ſcouts came in who brought word, that they ſaw arms carried to and fro in the enemy's camp, and heard a noiſe and tumult as of men preparing for battle. Not long after other ſcouts came in with further intelligence, that the firſt ranks were already drawn up in order of battle. Cæſar therefore, when he had told them, "That the wiſh'd-for "day was now come, wherein they ſhould fight with men, "not with want and hunger," immediately gave orders for the red mantle to be hung up before his tent; for that was uſually the ſign of battle among the Romans. As ſoon as the ſoldiers ſaw it, they left their tents, and with great ſhouts of joy ran to their arms. The officers likewiſe on their parts drawing up their men in order of battle, every one fell into his proper rank without any trouble or noiſe, as quietly and orderly as if they had been a chorus upon the ſtage. (2) Pompey himſelf led up the right wing of his army againſt Anthony,

(2) This order of battle, ſuch we find it deſcribed here by Plutarch, is quite contrary to that Cæſar himſelf gives of it in lib. 3. Cæſar upon his approach towards Pompey's camp, found he had made the following diſpoſition of his forces. Pompey was on the left with the two legions Cæſar had returned to him at the beginning of the war. Scipio was in the middle with the Syrian legions. The Cicilian legion, and the cohorts brought out of Spain by Afranius, were in the right, which was defended by a river of very difficult acceſs; for this reaſon Pompey placed all his cavalry, ſlingers, and archers in the left. The whole amounted to forty-five thouſand men, contained in a hundred and ten chorts. Cæſar's army was drawn up in the following order. The tenth legion was according to cuſtom placed in the right wing, and the ninth in the left; but as that had

Anthony, and placed his father-in-law Scipio in the center overagainſt Lucius Albinus. The left wing was commanded by Lucius Domitius, and ſupported by a great number of horſe; for almoſt the whole cavalry was placed there to diſtreſs Cæſar, and cut off the tenth legion, which was accounted the moſt firm and reſolute in all the army, and in which Cæſar himſelf always fought in perſon. Cæſar obſerving the left wing of the enemy to be lined and guarded with ſuch a ſtrong body of horſe, and fearing the glitter of their armour, ſent for a detachment of ſix cohorts from the rear, and placed them behind the tenth legion, commanding them not to ſtir, leſt they ſhould be diſcovered by the enemy, but as ſoon as the enemy's horſe had charged, to make up with all ſpeed to the front through the foremoſt ranks, and not to throw their javelins at a diſtance (as is uſual with the braveſt ſoldiers, that they may come to a cloſe fight with their ſwords the ſooner) but to ſtrike them upwards into the eyes and faces of the enemy; telling them, "That "thoſe fair young dancers would never endure the ſteel "ſhining in their eyes, but would fly to ſave their handſome "faces." While Cæſar was thus employed, Pompey on horſeback was viewing the order of both armies; and when

had been conſiderably weakened by the actions at Dyrrachium, he placed the eighth legion ſo near to it, as to be able to ſupport, and reinforce it upon occaſion. The reſt of his forces filled up the ſpace between thoſe two wings. Anthony commanded on the left wing, Sylla on the right, and the main body was under the command of Domitius. As for Cæſar, he poſted himſelf on the right overagainſt Pompey. Appian's account of the diſpoſition of the two armies differs from both theſe. One would hardly believe it poſſible that there could be any contradictory accounts of this battle of Pharſalia, which decided the fate of the univerſe. It is ſtill more extraordinary that the account Cæſar has left of it himſelf ſhould meet with a contradiction. Surely his evidence muſt be of the greateſt authority.

(3) "There was juſt as much "ſpace between the two armies, as "was ſufficient for both to meet and "charge; but Pompey had ordered "his men to receive the enemy's "onſet without ſtirring till Cæſar's "army by charging firſt ſhould be "diſordered

when he saw how well the enemy kept their ranks, expecting quietly the signal of battle, and on the contrary how impatient and unsteady his own men were, moving up and down in great disorder for want of experience, he was very much afraid that their ranks would be broken upon the first onset; he therefore gave strict orders, that the vanguard should make a stand, and keeping close in their ranks should receive the enemy's charge. (3) But Cæsar very much condemned this order as not only tending to weaken the vigour of the soldiers blows, which is always greatest in those who give the onset, but also damp the martial fire and spirit of the men themselves, whose breasts glow with a kind of enthusiastick valour when heated by their rapid course in the assault, and animated by the chearful shouts of their companions.

Cæsar's army consisted of twenty-two thousand men; and Pompey's of somewhat above twice that number. When the signal of battle was given on both sides, and the trumpets began to sound a charge, the generality of them attended each to his particular business; only a few of the Roman nobility, together with some Grecians who stood as spectators of the battle, when they saw the armies ready to join, could not

"disordered. This he is said to have "done by the advice of Triarius, "that the first force and impetuo- "sity of those troops might be "weakened, and their ranks thin- "ned, and that then they who had "remained firm in their posts might "attack them with a better effect "when they were thus broken and "dispersed. Besides, he was in "hopes that their javelins would "do less execution if they received "them in their posts, than if they "advanced to meet them, and "that Cæsar's soldiers running "through the whole space them- "selves instead of meeting them "in the midst, would come up out "of breath and wearied. But in "my opinion, this was done with- "out any reason: because that ve- "hemence and alacrity which is "natural to every man, is enflam- "ed by the eagerness and fury of "the onset, and ought not to be "checked but rather encouraged "by the General. Our ancestors "therefore wisely ordained that "trumpets should sound on every "side, and all the soldiers raise "a shout, conceiving that those "were the most proper means to "animate their own troops and "strike terror into the enemy." Cæs. de Bell. Civ. Lib. iii.

(4) This

not but consider with themselves to what an extremity the emulation and ambition of two men had brought the Roman empire; as nothing could more clearly show how blind and mad human nature is when hurried on by passion, than the sight of two armies, both marshalled by the same rules, both using the same arms and banners, and both consisting of the flower and strength of the same city, engaging to their mutual destruction. For if they had been desirous only to rule, they might have enjoyed in peace what they had conquered in war, the greatest and best part of the world being subject to them both by sea and land; and if their ambition still thirsted for new trophies and triumphs, the Parthian and German wars might have yielded matter enough to satisfy the most covetous of honour: nay, Scythia was yet unconquered, and the Indians too, where their ambition might be coloured over with the specious pretence of civilizing those barbarous nations; and what Scythian horse, Parthian arrows, or Indian riches, could be able to resist seventy thousand Roman soldiers armed well, under the command of two such Generals as Pompey and Cæsar, whose names they had heard of before that of the Romans? So wild, savage, and ignorant were many of the nations which they had conquered. But now were they opposed in battle one against the other, to the destruction of that very glory to which they sacrificed their country; for after that day they could not both be esteemed invincible, as hitherto they had been. So that the alliance contracted betwixt them by Pompey's marriage with Julia, must be considered as having been from the beginning an artful project of two designing men for their own interest, rather than a pledge of a sincere friendship.

As soon as the plains of Pharsalia were covered with men, horses and armour, and the signal of battle was given on both sides, Caius Crastinus, who commanded a body of a hundred and twenty men, was the

the firſt that advanced out of Cæſar's army, to give the charge, and acquit himſelf of a ſolemn engagement that he had made to Cæſar. For Cæſar, as he was going out of his tent in the morning, ſaw Craſtinus, and calling to him, aſked him, "What his opinion "was concerning the event of that battle?" To which he, ſtretching out his right hand, replied aloud, "Thou "ſhalt obtain a ſignal victory, Cæſar; and I myſelf this "day will be the ſubject of thy praiſe either alive or "dead." In purſuance of this promiſe he broke out of his rank, and being followed by many more, charged into the midſt of his enemies. They came preſently to a cloſe fight with their ſwords, and made a great ſlaughter; but as Craſtinus was ſtill preſſing forward, and breaking through the foremoſt ranks, a certain ſoldier ran his ſword into his mouth, ſo that the point of it came out behind at his neck. Craſtinus being thus ſlain, the fight became doubtful, and continued equal in that part of the battle.

Pompey had not yet brought on the right wing, but looking earneſtly towards the left, waited to ſee what execution his cavalry would do there. They had already drawn out their ſquadrons in form, deſigning to encompaſs Cæſar, and force thoſe few horſe which he had placed in the front, to fall back upon the foot. But as ſoon as Cæſar had given the ſignal, his horſe retreated back a little, and made way for thoſe ſix auxiliary cohorts (conſiſting of three thouſand men) which had been poſted in the rear to prevent that wing from being encompaſſed; theſe ruſhed out, and fiercely charged the enemy, ſtriking their javelins upwards, according to their inſtructions, and aiming at their faces. Theſe young men, being unſkilful in any manner of fight, and leaſt of all expecting or underſtanding ſuch a kind as this, had not courage enough to endure the blows upon their faces, but turning their backs, and covering their eyes with their hands, were ſhamefully put to flight. Cæſar's men without purſuing them turned towards the foot, and attacked

attacked them on all parts of that wing which lay naked and unguarded by the horſe, ſo that they were preſently environed on every ſide; and now being attacked in the flank by theſe, and in the front by the tenth legion, they were not able to ſtand the charge, or make any longer reſiſtance, finding themſelves encompaſſed by means of that ſcheme which they had laid to ſurround the enemy. Theſe being thus put to flight, Pompey by the duſt which he ſaw flying in the air conjectured what was the fate of his cavalry. It would be difficult to expreſs his thoughts at that time; but he looked more like a man aſtoniſhed and diſtracted, than one who ſhould have called to mind that he was Pompey the Great. He retired ſlowly towards his camp, without ſpeaking a word to any man, behaving exactly according to the deſcription in theſe verſes of Homer (4).

But partial Jove *eſpouſing* Hector's *part,*
Shot heav'n-bred horror through the Grecian's *heart;*
Confus'd, unnerv'd in Hector's *preſence grown,*
Amaz'd he ſtood, with terrors not his own.
O'er his broad back his moony ſhield he threw,
And glaring round by tardy ſteps withdrew. Pope.

In this condition he went into his own tent, and ſat down, remaining in a profound ſilence, (5) until ſome of the enemies fell in together with his men that were flying into the camp, and then he ſaid, "What? "into the very camp?" And without ſpeaking one word more, he roſe up, and putting on a garment ſuitable to his preſent fortune, departed ſecretly.

By this time the reſt of the army was put to flight, and there was a great ſlaughter in the camp among the

(4) This paſſage is in the eleventh book of the Iliad, where Homer ſpeaks of Ajax's flight before Hector.

(5) For Cæſar as ſoon as he had won the battle, immediately attacked the entrenchments, that Pompey might not have time to recollect

the ſervants, and thoſe that guarded the tents; but of the ſoldiers themſelves there were not above ſix thouſand ſlain, as it is reported by Aſinius Pollio, who was preſent in the action, and fought on Cæſar's ſide (6). When Cæſar's ſoldiers had taken the camp, they ſaw clearly the folly and vanity of the enemy; for all their tents were adorned with garlands of myrtle, and flowered carpets and hangings, their tables were covered with cups, and veſſels of wine were ſet out; and ſuch were their fooliſh hopes and vain confidence, that their whole preparation and furniture was that of people going to feaſt and ſacrifice, rather than of men arming for battle.

When Pompey had got a little way from the camp, he quitted his horſe. He had but a ſmall retinue with him; and finding that he was not purſued, he walked on ſoftly afoot, taken up altogether with ſuch thoughts as probably might poſſeſs a man that for the ſpace of thirty-four years together had been accuſtomed to conqueſt and victory, and then in his old age, for the firſt time experienced the misfortune of a defeat, beginning to know the calamities of war in ſlaughter and flight. And it was no ſmall affliction to conſider, that he had loſt in one hour all that glory and power, which he had been acquiring in ſo many wars and battles; and that he who a little before was guarded with ſuch a numerous army of horſe and foot, and with ſo great a fleet, was now flying in ſo mean a condition, and with ſuch a ſlender retinue, that his very enemies who fought him could not know him.

When he had paſſed by the city of Lariſſa, and came into the fields of Tempe, being very thirſty, he kneeled down and drank out of the river; then riſing up again, he paſſed through the valley until he came to the

recollect himſelf. Thoſe who were left to guard the camp behaved very bravely, but were at laſt forced to yield.

(6) Cæſar ſays that in all there were fifteen thouſand killed, and twenty-four thouſand taken priſoners.

(7) This

the ſea-ſide, and there he betook himſelf to a poor fiſherman's cottage, where he lodged all the remainder of the night. The next morning about break of day he went into a ſmall river-boat, together with all his companions that were freemen, diſmiſſing his ſervants, and adviſing them to go boldly to Cæſar and not be afraid. As he was rowing up and down near the ſhore, he ſaw a large ſhip of burden juſt ready to ſail; the maſter of which was Peticius, a Roman citizen, who though he was not familiarly acquainted with Pompey, yet knew him very well, by ſight. It happened that this Peticius dreamed the night before that he ſaw Pompey, not ſuch as he had often ſeen him, but converſing with him in a mean and diſconſolate condition. He was then telling his dream to the paſſengers, (as men commonly do that are at leiſure) when on a ſudden one of the mariners told him that he ſaw a little boat with oars putting off from ſhore, and that ſome of the men there ſhook their garments and held out their hands, to them. Upon this Peticius ſtanding up, knew Pompey immediately, ſeeing him in the ſame diſguiſe as he appeared in his dream; and ſtriking his head through grief, he ordered the mariners to let down the ſhip's boat, and ſtretching out his hand, called to him, being already aſſured of the change of his fortune by that of his garb: ſo that without any entreaty or diſcourſe, he took him into his ſhip, together with ſuch of his company as he thought fit, who were the two Lentuli and Favonius, and then hoiſted ſail. A little after ſeeing King Deiotarus making up towards them from the ſhore, they ſtayed and took him in along with them. At ſupper time, the maſter of the ſhip having made ready ſuch proviſions as he had aboard, Pompey for want of his ſervants, began to pull off his ſhoes, which when Favonius perceived, he ran to him, pulled them off, and anointed him; and he always after continued to wait upon

(7) This is a paſſage of Euripides.

(8) This

upon him, as ſervants do upon their maſters even to the waſhing of his feet, and providing of his ſupper: ſo that one there preſent, obſerving that free and unaffected courteſy in his ſervices, cried out,

O with what nameleſs grace the gen'rous mind
Fulfills whate'er its virtue has deſign'd! (7)

Pompey ſailing by the city of Amphipolis, croſſed over from thence to Mitylene, with a deſign to take in Cornelia and his ſon. As ſoon as he arrived at the port in that iſland, he diſpatched a meſſenger into the city, with news very different from Cornelia's expectation; for ſhe, by all the former meſſages and letters ſent to pleaſe her, had been put in hopes that the war was ended at Dyrrachium, and that there was nothing more remaining for Pompey, but the purſuit of Cæſar. The meſſenger finding her in the ſame hopes ſtill, was not able to ſalute or ſpeak to her, but declaring the greatneſs of her misfortune by his tears rather than by his words, deſired her to make haſte if ſhe would ſee Pompey, with one ſhip only, and that not his own. Cornelia hearing this, threw herſelf upon the ground, and continued a long time diſtracted and ſpeechleſs. At laſt being with difficulty recovered, and conſidering that this was no time for lamentation and tears, ſhe ſtarted up and ran through the city towards the ſea-ſide, where Pompey met and embraced her juſt as ſhe was ready to fall down, and threw herſelf into his arms for ſupport. "This, my "dear huſband," ſaid ſhe, "is the effect of my fortune, "not of yours, that I ſee you thus dejected and reduced "to one poor veſſel, who before your marriage with Cor- "nelia uſed to ſail over thoſe ſeas with a fleet of five "hundred ſhips. Why therefore ſhould you come to ſee "me, and why not rather have left me to my unhappy "fate, who have been the cauſe of all your misfortunes? "How happy a woman had I been, if I had died before "I had heard from Parthia of the death of Publius, to "whom I was wedded in my virginity? And how pru-

" dent, if I had followed him to the grave as I designed? " But I was reserved for a greater mischief, even the ruin " of Pompey the Great." Thus they say Cornelia spoke to him; and this was Pompey's reply: " Dear Corne- " lia, Thou hast hitherto been accustomed only to the " smiles of fortune, who perhaps has deceived thee by " having been constant to me beyond her usual custom; " but it behoves us who are mortals, to bear these af- " flictions, and try our fortune once again; neither ought " we to despond, since it is as possible to retrieve our " former happiness after this distress, as it was to fall " from that into this present calamity." Upon this she sent for her goods and servants out of the city: the citizens of Mitylene came out also to salute Pompey and invite him into the town; but he refused, advising them to be obedient to the conqueror, and not to fear, Cæsar being a man of great humanity and clemency. Then turning to Cratippus the philosopher, (who came among the rest out of the city to visit him) he began to complain and argue with him concerning providence. Cratippus seemed to yield in some degree to his objections, and only encouraged him to hope for better times, being unwilling to offend him by an unseasonable opposition. Not but that Cratippus might easily have answered his arguments, and have demonstrated that by reason of the great disorders that abounded throughout the whole empire, it was necessary that the government should be lodged in the hands of a single person. And for his fuller conviction, he might have put this question to him; " How O Pom- " pey, and by what token may we be assured that " if the victory had been thine thou wouldst have used " thy fortune better than Cæsar?" But the dispensations of providence we must leave to the Gods.

Pompey having taken his wife and friends aboard, set sail, not touching at any port, but when he was necessitated to take in provisions, or fresh water. The first

(8) This was Ptolemy, surnamed Dionysius, the son of Ptolemy Auletes who died the year before the battle of Pharsalia. He

firſt place he touched at was Attalia, a city in Pamphylia. Whilſt he was there, ſome gallies came thither to him out of Cilicia, together with a few bands of ſoldiers; and almoſt ſixty ſenators were aſſembled about him again. When he heard that his navy was ſafe too, and that Cato had rallied a conſiderable body of ſoldiers after their overthrow, and paſſed with them over into Africa, he began to complain to his friends, and to blame himſelf for having been prevailed upon to engage by land, without making uſe of thoſe forces in which he was undoubtedly the ſtronger, and for not keeping near enough to his fleet, that if he had failed by land, he might ſtill have had a power at ſea ſufficient to make head againſt the enemy. And indeed Pompey during all the war never committed a greater overſight, nor did Cæſar ever uſe a more ſubtle ſtratagem, than in removing the battle ſo far from their naval forces.

Pompey being obliged to attempt ſomething according to his preſent ability, ſent meſſengers to ſome of the neighbouring cities, and himſelf ſailed about in perſon to others, to collect money for the equipment of his fleet. But being ſenſible of Cæſar's diligence and activity, and afraid leſt by a ſudden arrival he might ſurprize him before he had finiſhed his preparations, he began to conſider what place would yield him the ſafeſt retreat in the preſent ſituation of his affairs. A conſultation being held, it was generally agreed, that they could not remain in ſafety in any province belonging to the empire; and as to foreign kingdoms, he himſelf was of opinion, that Parthia was the fitteſt both to receive and defend them in their preſent diſtreſs, as well as to aſſiſt them with the greateſt force. Others of the council were for going into Africa, to King Juba; but Theophanes the Leſbian thought it madneſs to leave Egypt (which was diſtant but three days ſail) and to forſake Ptolemy (8), who was

He was now in his fourteenth year.

was now paſt his childhood, and was highly obliged to him for the friendſhip which he had ſhown to his father, only to truſt himſelf to the Parthians, the moſt treacherous nation in the world. He repreſented it as very abſurd to ſuffer Arſaces (by whom Craſſus would not be taken alive) to become maſter of his perſon, rather than try the clemency of a generous Roman, and one who had been his father-in-law, to whom if he would but yield to be ſecond, he might be the firſt over all others. Beſides, he thought it would be great cruelty to expoſe his wife who was young, and who was of the family of Scipio, among ſuch a barbarous people, who meaſure their greatneſs by their power to commit every kind of inſolence and outrage, and from whom, though ſhe might not ſuffer any diſhonour, yet it would be thought ſhe did, being in the hands of thoſe who had the power to injure her. This argument alone, they ſay, was ſo perſuaſive, as to divert Pompey from his intended courſe towards the Euphrates; if it were indeed Pompey's opinion, and not rather his fate that determined him to take the other way. As ſoon therefore as it was reſolved upon, that he ſhould fly into Egypt, he ſet ſail from Cyprus, in a galley of Seleucia, together with Cornelia, and ſafely croſſed the ſea, the reſt of his company, ſome in galleys and others in ſhips of burden, ſailing by. But when he underſtood that King Ptolemy was with his army at Peluſium, making war againſt his ſiſter, he ſteered his courſe that way, and ſent a meſſenger before to acquaint him with his arrival, and crave his protection. Ptolemy himſelf was very young; and therefore Photinus who had the adminiſtration of the government, called a council of the chief men of the court, (thoſe being the greateſt whom he pleaſed to make ſo) and commanded each of them to deliver his opinion. But who can without indignation conſider, that the fate of Pompey the Great ſhould be determined by Photinus an eunuch, Theodotus of Chios a rhetorican, who taught for reward,

ward, and Achillas an Egyptian? For of all those who attended the King's person, or who had a share in his education, these three were his chief counsellors, and had the greatest influence over him. In the mean time Pompey, riding at anchor at a distance from shore, waited the result of this council; he who thought it beneath his dignity to owe his safety to Cæsar. They were divided in their opinions. Some of them were for giving Pompey a kind and honourable reception; others thought he ought not to be admitted. But Theodotus to show the power of his eloquence, undertook to demonstrate, "that neither advice was safe; for if they "entertained him, they would be sure to make Cæsar "their enemy, and Pompey their master; and if they "dismissed him, they might render themselves hereafter "obnoxious to Pompey, for that inhospitable expulsion, "and to Cæsar, for letting him escape; so that the safest "expedient would be to send for him, and take away "his life, for by that means they would ingratiate themselves with the one, and have no reason to fear the "other," adding, as it is reported, with a smile, "That "a dead man cannot bite." This advice being approved of, they committed the execution of it to Achillas: he therefore taking with him as his accomplices, one Septimius, a man who had formerly been an officer in Pompey's army, and Salvius who had also been a centurion under him, with three or four officers more, made up towards Pompey's galley. In the mean time all the chief of those who accompanied Pompey in this voyage, were come into his ship to see the event of the embassy. But when they saw that their reception was neither princely, nor honourable, nor indeed at all answerable to the hopes of Theophanes, and that there came but a few men in a fisherman's boat to meet them, they began to suspect this contemptuous treatment, and advised Pompey to turn back whilst he was out of their reach, and launch into the main sea. By this time, the Egyptian boat drew near, and Septimius standing up first, saluted Pompey in the Latin tongue by the title of Imperator.

rator. Then Achillas ſaluting him in the Greek language, deſired him to come aboard his veſſel, telling him, that the ſea was very ſhallow towards the ſhore, and that a galley of that burden could not avoid ſtriking upon the ſand. At the ſame time they ſaw ſeveral of the King's galleys well manned, and all the ſhore covered with ſoldiers; ſo that if they had changed their minds, it ſeemed impoſſible for them to eſcape; and beſides, their diſtruſt would have given the aſſaſſins a pretence for their cruelty. Pompey therefore taking his leave of Cornelia, who lamented his death beforehand, bid two centurions, together with Philip one of his freedmen, and a ſlave called Scenes, to go aboard of the Egyptian's boat before him; and as ſome of the people belonging to Achillas were reaching out their hands to help him, he turned about towards his wife and ſon, and repeated thoſe Iambicks of Sophocles,

Who refuge ſeeks within a tyrant's door,
When once he enters there is free no more.

Theſe were the laſt words he ſpoke to his friends, after which he immediately went into the boat. There was a conſiderable diſtance betwixt his galley and the ſhore; and when he perceived that none of the company paid him the leaſt civility, or even ſpoke to him, he looked upon Septimius, and ſaid, "Methinks I "ſhould know thee, friend; have not we been formerly "fellow-ſoldiers?" But he only nodded with his head, making no reply, nor ſhowing any other mark of reſpect. Since therefore they continued ſilent, Pompey took a little book in his hand (in which was written a Greek oration, which he intended for King Ptolemy) and began to read. When they drew near to the ſhore, Cornelia together with the reſt of her friends in the galley watched the event with great anxiety; and ſhe began to take courage at laſt, when ſhe ſaw ſeveral of the court coming to meet him, imagining that it might be for a more honourable reception.

reception. But at that inſtant, while Pompey was taking Philip by the hand in order to raiſe himſelf with more eaſe, Septimius came firſt of all behind with his ſword, and run him through; and at the ſame time, Salvius and Achillas drew their ſwords likewiſe. Pompey taking up his gown with both hands, covered his face, and without ſaying or doing any thing unworthy of himſelf, only groaning a little, reſolutely endured the wounds they gave him, and ſo ended his life, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, the very next day after his birth-day. Cornelia with her company from the galleys, ſeeing him murdered, gave ſuch a ſhriek, that it was heard to the ſhore, and weighing anchor with all ſpeed, they hoiſted ſail and fled. A briſk gale from the ſhore aſſiſted their flight, ſo that the Egyptians failed of their deſign, and deſiſted from purſuing them. The murderers cut off Pompey's head, and threw the body overboard, leaving it naked upon the ſhore, to be viewed by all who were deſirous to ſee it. Philip ſtayed by and watched it till their curioſity was ſatisfied; he then waſhed it with ſea-water, and having nothing elſe, wrapt it up in one of his own garments. By ſearching up and down about the ſands, he at laſt found ſome old planks of a little fiſher-boat; the quantity was not great, but ſufficient however to make a funeral pile for a naked body that was not quite entire. As Philip was buſy in collecting and putting theſe planks together an old Roman, who in his youth had ſerved his firſt campaigns under Pompey, came to him, and demanded, "Who he was that was preparing the funeral of Pompey the Great?" Philip anſwered, "That "he was his freedman;" "But you ſhall not have this "honour alone," ſaid he, "let me too have a ſhare "in this pious office, that I may not altogether repent "that I have been obliged to live in a ſtrange country, "but in compenſation of all my misfortunes, may obtain this happineſs at laſt to touch and wrap up with "my own hands the body of the greateſt General "among the Romans." In this manner was the funeral of Pompey performed. The next day Lucius Lentu-

lus, not knowing what had paſſed, came from Cyprus; and as he ſailed along the coaſt, ſeeing a funeral pile, and Philip (whom he did not know at firſt) ſtanding by, he aſked him, "Who it was that was dead and buried there?" Then pauſing a little, and fetching a deep ſigh, Perhaps, ſaid he, "even thou O Pompey "the Great!" Soon after going aſhore, he was apprehended and ſlain. Such was the end of Pompey the Great.

Not long after this Cæſar came into Egypt, where he found every thing in the greateſt confuſion and diſorder. Upon his arrival they ſhowed him the head of Pompey, but he looked with abhorrence on him who brought it. They delivered to him Pompey's ſeal, on which was engraved a lion holding a ſword; and he burſt into tears upon receiving it. Achillas and Photinus he put to death; and King Ptolemy himſelf, being overthrown in battle upon the banks of the Nile, diſappeared, and was never heard of afterwards. Theodotus the rhetorician flying out of Egypt, eſcaped from Cæſar's juſtice, but lived a vagabond in great poverty, univerſally deſpiſed and hated; till at laſt, Marcus Brutus (after he had killed Cæſar) finding him in his province of Aſia, put him to death, having firſt made him ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torments. The aſhes of Pompey were carried to his wife Cornelia, who buried them at his country-houſe near Alba.

The Comparison of POMPEY *with* AGESILAUS.

HAVING described the lives of Agesilaus and Pompey, let us now briefly draw the parallel and show in what circumstances they differ from each other. In the first place, Pompey obtained his greatness and reputation by the justest methods, having advanced himself by his own merit, and by the many signal services which he rendered to Sylla in assisting him to deliver Italy from the usurpation of tyrants. But Agesilaus appears to have usurped a kingdom in violation of the laws both of Gods and men, by declaring Leotychidas a bastard, though his brother had acknowledged him as his legitimate son, and by putting a false gloss upon the Oracle, and eluding the prophecy concerning his lameness (9). Secondly, Pompey had a constant veneration for Sylla all his lifetime, and after his death honourably interred him in spite of the opposition of Lepidus, and gave his daughter in marriage to his son Faustus. But Agesilaus, upon a slight pretence, cast off Lysander with reproach and dishonour. So that Sylla received in return from Pompey no less than he gave him; whereas Lysander made Agesilaus King of Sparta, and General of all Greece. Thirdly, Pompey's offences against the state and laws were occasioned chiefly by his relations; for in most of his errors he was associated with Cæsar and Scipio, who were both his fathers-in-law. But Agesilaus, to gratify the passion of his son, saved the

(9) See p. 67.

the life of Sphodrias, when he deserved death for the injuries he had done to the Athenians; and he was openly and cordially an abettor of Phœbidas in the breach of the league with the Thebans merely for the iniquity of the act itself. In short, whatever injury Pompey did to the Romans through ignorance or a timorous respect for his friends, the same was committed by Agesilaus against the Lacedæmonians out of obstinacy and malice, he himself being the sole author of the Bœotian war. If the unsuccessful events of their lives are to be attributed to fortune, there will be this distinction between them, that Pompey's ill fortune must have been quite unexpected by the Romans, whereas Agesilaus would not suffer the Lacedæmonians to avoid what they foresaw and heard must attend the reign of a lame King; for had Leotychidas been proved by ten thousand arguments to be spurious, yet the race of the Eurytiontidæ (1) was still in being, and there could never have been wanting one descended from that line, to furnish Sparta with a natural and lawful King, and one who was entire in his limbs too, had not Lysander darkened and disguised the true sense of the Oracle in favour of Agesilaus.

As to their political talents, there never was a more prudent and salutary contrivance than that devised by Agesilaus in the perplexity occasioned by those who had fled at the battle of Leuctra, when after that unhappy defeat, he decreed, "That the laws should sleep for that "day;" neither have we any thing to compare with this in all Pompey's history; on the contrary, that he might show to his friends the greatness of his power, he did not scruple for their sake to break those very laws which he himself had made; whereas Agesilaus, when he seemed under

(1) Vol. I. p. 103, 104. and note p. 110.

(2) Plutarch seems to have had in view Pompey's compliance with the order of Sylla to disband his army in Africa: in return for which mark of respect Sylla when he met him saluted him by the title of Great. But Pompey could not foresee that his obedience would be so well rewarded.

(3) Plu-

under a neceſſity of diſſolving the laws to preſerve his citizens from infamy, deviſed an expedient to ſpare them without abrogating the laws. This too muſt be conſidered as a ſingular inſtance of civil virtue in Ageſilaus, that immediately upon the receipt of the Scytale (or ſcroll of parchment from the Ephori) he left the war in Aſia, and returned into his country; for his caſe was not like that of Pompey, who rendered himſelf great by the ſame conduct that was beneficial to the publick (2); for Ageſilaus, attentive only to the proſperity and grandeur of his country, did for the ſake of that renounce as great honour and authority as ever any perſon attained to, either before or after him, except Alexander the Great. But let us now conſider them in another view.

If we reflect on Pompey's military expeditions and exploits, the number of his trophies, and the greatneſs of the armies which he commanded, and of the battles which he won, I am perſuaded that even Xenophon himſelf would not put the victories of Ageſilaus in compariſon with his (3) though he has this privilege allowed him, (as a ſingular reward for all his other virtues) that he may write and ſpeak in favour of his hero whatever he pleaſes. Methinks too there is a great deal of difference betwixt theſe men, in their moderation towards their enemies. For whilſt Ageſilaus was attempting to conquer Thebes and deſtroy Meſſene, one the city from which his family ſprung, the other Sparta's ſiſter-colony (4), he had almoſt ruined Sparta herſelf; and ſhe really did loſe by his means her ſuperiority over the reſt of Greece. Whereas Pompey gave cities to thoſe of the pirates who were willing to change their courſe of life; and when it was

(3) Plutarch mentions this on account of a treatiſe written by Xenophon, which is no other than an encomium upon Ageſilaus, and in which he would repreſent him as the greateſt man that ever was, conſidered even in his military capacity.

(4) For Meſſene was a colony of the Heraclidæ as well as Sparta; and Thebes was the birth-place of Hercules.

(1) Cara-

was in his power to have led Tigranes King of Armenia in triumph, he chose rather to make him an ally of the Romans, saying, "That a glory which was to last "throughout all ages, was to be prefered to that which "was to be of one days continuance." But if the prize of military virtue is to be the reward of such actions and counsels as are the distinguishing glory of a brave warrior and a wise commander, we shall find that the Roman comes far behind the Lacedæmonian; for Agesilaus never deserted his city, though it was besieged by an army of seventy thousand men, when there were very few soldiers within to defend it, and those had been defeated too but a little before at the battle of Leuctra. Whereas Pompey no sooner heard that Cæsar with a body of five thousand three hundred men had made himself master of one town in Italy, but he was so terrified as to abandon Rome, either meanly yielding to a smaller force than his own, or falsely imagining it to be greater. And having conveyed away his own wife and children, he fled, leaving all the rest of the citizens defenceless; whereas he ought either to have conquered fighting in defence of his country, or if defeated, to have yielded upon terms to the conqueror, who was his fellow-citizen and relation. But now that man to whom he denied an enlargement of the term of his government, and to whom he could not endure to grant another Consulship, was suffered by him to take possession of the city, and to tell Metellus the tribune, together with all the rest, "That they were his prisoners." That therefore which is the principal office of a General, to put the enemy under a necessity of fighting when he finds himself the stronger, and not to be forced to come to an engagement when he is the weaker, was well understood by Agesilaus, and by this he always kept himself invincible. But Pompey was very defective in this talent, and could never force Cæsar to engage at a disadvantage, but was himself forced by Cæsar to hazard

hazard all in a battle by land, where he was weakeſt; by which means Cæſar became maſter of his treaſures and proviſions, and of the ſea itſelf, all which Pompey might have preſerved had he known how to avoid an engagement. That which is alledged as an apology for Pompey, is the higheſt reproach to ſo great a General; for that a young commander ſhould be terrified and overpowered by the tumults and clamours of his ſoldiers, ſo as to quit the moſt ſafe and prudent meaſures, is neither ſtrange, nor altogether unpardonable. But who can bear to think that Pompey the Great, whoſe camp the Romans called their country, and whoſe tent they called the ſenate, ſtyling the Conſuls, Prætors, and all other magiſtrates who remained at Rome, rebels and traitors, who was never known to have been under the command of any but himſelf, (having been ſole General in all the glorious expeditions in which he had ever been engaged) who, I ſay, can bear to think that upon ſo ſmall a provocation as the ſcoffs of Favonius and Domitius, and the fear of having the nickname of Agamemnon, he ſhould be in a manner forced to hazard the whole empire and liberty of Rome upon a ſingle caſt? For if he ſo much regarded preſent infamy, he ſhould have oppoſed Cæſar at firſt by fighting in defence of the city, and not have left it as he did, colouring over his flight with the pretence of imitating Themiſtocles. Could he after this, imagine that there was any reproach in delaying a battle in Theſſaly? For neither did the Gods appoint the Pharſalian fields to be the theatre upon which they ſhould contend for the empire of Rome, neither was he ſummoned thither by any herald with intimation, that he muſt either undergo the combat, or ſurrender the crown to another: but there were many other fields, thouſands of cities, and even the whole earth, any part of which his fleet put it in his power to chuſe, if he would but have followed the examples of Maximus, Marius, Lucullus,

and

and even Agesilaus himself, who endured no less tumults within the city of Sparta, when the Thebans provoked him to battle for the residue of his country: he endured likewise many calumnies and accusations in Egypt, through the imprudence of the King, whilst he advised him to wait with patience, and delay the battle; and by following always what he had determined in his own judgment upon mature deliberation, he not only preserved the Egyptians against their will, and kept Sparta from falling into that dreadful convulsion, but set up a trophy likewise in the city in memory of the overthrow of the Thebans; so that by not suffering himself to be prevailed on by the importunities of his citizens to lead them out to their destruction, he, afterwards gave them an occasion of victory. Agesilaus therefore was at last highly commended, even by those whom he had obliged to act against their inclinations; whereas Pompey found those to be his accusers, whose counsels he had followed, and who had forced him upon those errors which proved his destruction. It is true, some say that he was deceived by his father-in-law Scipio, who designing to conceal and keep to himself the greatest part of that treasure which he had brought out of Asia, urged Pompey to battle upon this pretence, that there would be a want of money; however, admitting this to be true, yet such a General ought not to have been so easily deluded, to the hazard of all the greatest concerns of the commonwealth. And thus we have taken a view of each, by comparing them together in their military conduct.

As to their voyages into Egypt: one fled thither out of necessity; the other went neither honourably, nor necessarily, but as a mercenary soldier, having listed himself into the service of a barbarous nation for pay, that he might be able to wage war upon the Grecians. Lastly, the crime which we charge upon

upon the Egyptians in their behaviour to Pompey, the Egyptians charge upon Ageſilaus: for one was betrayed by thoſe whom he truſted; the other betrayed his truſt by deſerting to the enemies of thoſe whom he went to aſſiſt.

ALEXANDER the GREAT.

IT being my deſign in this volume to write the life of Alexander, and of Cæſar by whom Pompey was deſtroyed, I ſhall only premiſe, (ſince the multitude of their great actions affords me ſo large a field) that I hope my readers will not be diſpleaſed to find that I have choſen rather to epitomize the moſt celebrated parts of their hiſtory, than to inſiſt at large on every particular circumſtance; eſpecially conſidering that my deſign is not to write hiſtories, but lives. Beſides the moſt glorious exploits do not always

(1) Caranus, who was the ſixteenth in deſcent from Hercules, got poſſeſſion of Macedonia, and Alexander the Great was the twenty-ſecond deſcendant from Caranus, ſo that from Hercules to Alexander

always furniſh us with the cleareſt diſcoveries of virtue, or vice, in men; ſometimes a matter of leſs moment, a ſingular expreſſion or a jeſt, informs us better of their manners and inclinations, than the moſt famous ſieges, the arrangement of the greateſt armies, or the bloodieſt battles. Therefore as painters when they draw a portrait, are more exact in the lines and features of the face, from which we may beſt diſcover the peculiar diſpoſition of the mind, than in the other parts of the body; ſo let me be allowed to exhibit a picture of the lives of theſe great men, by chiefly ſtudying and deſcribing thoſe particulars which moſt diſtinctly characterize their temper and genius, leaving their more ſplendid actions and atchievements to be treated of by others.

It is univerſally agreed (1) that on the father's ſide Alexander deſcended from Hercules by Caranus, and from Æacus by Neoptolemus on the mother's ſide. His father Philip being in Samothrace when he was young, fell in love there with Olympias, with whom he was initiated in the religious ceremonies of the country; and her father and mother being both dead, he ſoon after, with the conſent of her brother Arymbas, married her. The night before the conſummation of the marriage, ſhe dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her belly, which kindled a great fire, the flames of which divided themſelves on all ſides, and then were extinguiſhed. And Philip, ſome time after he was married, dreamed that he ſealed up his wife's belly with a ſeal, whoſe impreſſion, as he fancied, was the figure of a lion. Some interpreted this as a warning to Philip to look narrowly to his wife; but Ariſtander of Telmiſſus conſidering it was unuſual to ſeal up any thing that was empty, aſſured him the meaning of his dream was, that the Queen was with child of a boy, who would one day prove as ſtout and courageous

Alexander there were thirty eight generations. The deſcent by his mother's ſide is not ſo clear, there being many degrees wanting in it. It is ſufficient to know that Olympias was the

geous as a lion. Not long after a dragon was obſerved to lie cloſe by Olympias while ſhe ſlept; upon which Philip's affection to her ſenſibly abated: for whether he feared her as an inchantreſs, or thought ſhe had commerce with ſome God, and ſo looked on himſelf as unequal to ſuch a rival, he was ever after leſs fond of her company. Others ſay, that the women of this country having always been extremely addicted to the enthuſiaſtick ceremonies of Orpheus and Bacchus, (upon which account they were called Clodones and Mimallones) imitated in many things the Edonian and Thracian women about mount Hæmus, from whom the word Threſceuin ſeems to be derived, which ſignifies "to perform extravagant and ſuperſtitious rites;" and that Olympias having a peculiar zeal for theſe fanatical and enthuſiaſtick inſpirations, in order to give the ſolemnities a more wild and horrid appearance uſed to have large tame ſerpents with her, which ſometimes creeping out of the ivy and the myſtick fans ſometimes winding themſelves about the ſacred ſpears, and the womens chaplets, ſtruck the ſpectators with terror.

Philip after this viſion ſent Chæron of Megalopolis to conſult the Oracle of Apollo at Delphi, by which he was commanded to ſacrifice to, and adore Jupiter Ammon, above all the other Gods. And it is ſaid that he loſt that eye with which he preſumed to peep through the chink of the door, when he ſaw the God in the form of a ſerpent lying by his wife. Eratoſthenes ſays, that Olympias when ſhe brought Alexander on his way in his firſt expedition, told him in private the ſecret of his birth, and exhorted him to behave with

daughter of Neoptolemus, and ſiſter to Arymbas.

(2) Hegeſias was an hiſtorian, and flouriſhed during the reign of Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus. This conceit which Plutarch applies to him, and which he calls ſo cold, is attributed to Timæus by Cicero, who thinks it a very good one. "Concinneque ut "multa Timæus, qui cum in hiſ-"toria dixiſſet, qua nocte natus "Alexander eſſet, eadem Dianæ "Epheſiæ

with courage ſuitable to his divine extraction. Others again affirm, that ſhe wholly declined this vanity, and uſed to ſay, "Will Alexander never leave making Juno "jealous of me?"

Alexander was born on the ſixth of Hecatombæon [July] (which month the Macedonians) call Lous) the ſame day that the temple of Diana at Epheſus was burnt; upon which occaſion Hegeſias of Magneſia (2) utters a conceit ſo frigid that it might have ſerved to extinguiſh the flames; "It is no wonder," ſays he, "that "the temple of Diana ſhould be burnt, as ſhe was then "attending as midwife at the birth of Alexander." All the prieſts and ſoothſayers who were then at Epheſus, looking upon the ruin of this temple to be the forerunner of ſome other calamity, ran about the town, beating their faces, and crying out that "That day had "brought forth ſomething that would prove fatal and de"ſtructive to all Aſia." Philip had juſt taken Potidæa, when he received theſe three meſſages on the ſame day: that Parmenio had overthrown the Illyrians in a great battle; that his race-horſe had won the prize at the Olympick games; and that his wife was brought to-bed of Alexander; with which being extremely pleaſed, as an addition to his ſatisfaction, the diviners aſſured him that a ſon whoſe birth was accompanied with three victories could not fail of being invincible.

The ſtatues that moſt reſembled Alexander were thoſe of Lyſippus, by whom alone this Prince would ſuffer his image to be made. The inclination of his head which leaned a little to one ſide, and the liveline-ſs of his eyes (in which particulars his friends and ſucceſſors

"Epheſiæ templum deflagraviſſe, "adjunxit minimum id eſſe mira"culum, quod Diana, cum in "partu Olympiadis adeſſe voluiſſet, "abſuiſſet domo." Had this been ſaid by Lucian in ridicule of the Pagan theology, it might have deſerved praiſe; but conſidered as a ſerious reflection it certainly is juſtly cenſured by Plutarch; however he can hardly eſcape the ſame cenſure himſelf for the turn of his criticiſm.

(3) The

ſucceſſors chiefly affected to imitate him) were very accurately expreſſed by the artiſt. But Apelles, who drew him with thunderbolts in his hand, made his complexion browner and darker than it really was; for he is ſaid to have been fair, with a mixture of ruddineſs chiefly in his face and upon his breaſt. Ariſtoxenus in his memoirs tells us, that an admirable ſcent proceeded from his ſkin, and that his breath and whole body was ſo fragrant, as to perfume the clothes which he wore next him; the cauſe of which might probably be his hot and aduſt temperament; for ſweet ſmells, as Theophraſtus conjectures, are produced by the concoction of moiſt humours by heat, which is the reaſon that thoſe parts of the world which are drieſt and moſt burnt up, afford ſpices of the beſt kind, and in the greateſt quantity; for the heat of the ſun exhauſts the ſuperfluous moiſture, which floats upon the ſurface of bodies and generates, putrefaction. And this hot conſtitution, it may be, rendered Alexander ſo addicted to drinking, and ſo cholerick.

In his early youth he was very temperate with regard to the pleaſures of the body, being with much difficulty incited to them, and always uſing them with great moderation; though in other things he was extremely eager and vehement. In his love and purſuit of glory he ſhowed a dignity and magnanimity far above his age; for he neither ſought nor valued it upon every ſlight occaſion, as his father Philip did, who affected to ſhow his eloquence like a ſophiſt, and took care to have the victories of his chariots at the Olympick games engraven on his coin. But when Alexander was aſked by ſome about him, whether he would run a race in the Olympick games (for he was very ſwift-footed) he anſwered, "He would, "if he might have Kings to run with him." It is evident that he had no opinion of the Athletick exerciſes; for though

(y) The rhapſodiſts were perſons who recited or ſung paſſages from

though he often appointed prizes for tragedians, for performers on the flute and harp, and for rhapsodists (3), and gave entertainments of every kind of hunting, and of fighting with cudgels, yet he rarely gave any encouragement either to boxing or wrestling.

While he was yet very young, he entertained the ambassadors from the King of Persia in the absence of his father, and charmed them with his politeness and affability; but they were peculiarly pleased with the questions he asked them, which were far from being childish or trifling; for he enquired of them the distances of places, the manner of travelling in the remoter parts of Asia, the character of their King, how he behaved to his enemies, and what forces he was able to bring into the field; so that they were struck with admiration of him, and looked upon the abilities of Philip, though so highly celebrated, to be nothing in comparison of the extensive genius and enterprizing spirit of his son. Whenever he heard that Philip had taken any town of importance, or won any signal victory, instead of rejoicing at it, he would "tell his companions, that "his father would anticipate "every thing, and leave him and them no opportunities "of performing great and illustrious actions." For being more addicted to virtue and glory, than either to pleasure or riches, he esteemed all that he should receive from his father, as a diminution of his own future atchievements; and he would have chosen rather to succeed to a kingdom involved in troubles and wars, which would have afforded him frequent exercise of his valour, and a large field of honour, than to one already flourishing and settled, where he must lead an unactive life, and be as it were buried in the sordid enjoyments of wealth and luxury.

The care of his education was committed to a great many preceptors and tutors, over whom Leonidas, a kinsman

from the poets, and especially from Homer.

kinſman of Olympias, a man of an auſtere temper, preſided. Though he did not decline the title of preceptor, the office itſelf being important and honourable, yet becauſe of his dignity and relation to the royal family, he was called by others Alexander's foſter-father and governor. But he who took upon him the place and name of his preceptor, was Lyſimachus the Acarnanian, who though not diſtinguiſhed by his merit or polite accompliſhments, recommended himſelf to favour, and obtained the next rank to Leonidas, merely by calling himſelf Phœnix, Alexander Achilles, and Philip Peleus.

When Philonicus the Theſſalian brought the horſe Bucephalus to Philip, offering to ſell him for thirteen (4) talents, they went into the field to try him; but they found him ſo very vicious and unmanageable, that he reared up when they endeavoured to back him, and would not ſo much as endure the voice of any of Philip's attendants. Philip diſliking him and ordering his ſervants to lead him away as altogether wild and untractable, Alexander, who ſtood by, would not let them, ſaying, "What an excellent horſe do they loſe, for "want of addreſs and boldneſs to manage him?" Philip at firſt took no notice of what he ſaid; but when he heard him repeat the ſame thing, and ſaw that he was uneaſy, he ſaid, "Do you reproach thoſe who are elder than your-"ſelf, as if you knew more, and were better able to "manage a horſe than they?" "Yes," replied he "with "this horſe I could deal better than any one elſe." "And if "you do not," ſaid Philip, "what will you forfeit for your "raſhneſs?" "The whole price of the horſe," ſaid Alexander. At this the whole company fell a laughing; but as ſoon as the agreement was made between them about the money, he immediately ran to the horſe, and taking hold of the bridle, turned him directly towards the ſun, having it ſeems obſerved that he was frighted

(4) This will appear a moderate price to thoſe who have read what Varro writes in Lib. 3. cap. 2. de re ruſt. that Q. Axius a ſenator gave four hundred thouſand ſeſterces for an aſs; and ſtill

frighted by the motion of his own ſhadow. Then letting him go forward a little, ſtill keeping the reins in his hand, and ſtroaking him gently, when he found his fury begin to abate, he let fall his upper garment ſoftly, and with one nimble leap mounted on his back; and when he was ſecurely ſeated, by little and little he ſtraitened the bridle, and curbed him without ſtriking or teazing him. Afterwards, when he perceived his heat and mettle was leſs impetuous, though he was ſtill eager to run, he let him go at full ſpeed, not only encouraging him with a commanding voice, but preſſing him forward alſo with his heel. All who were preſent beheld this action at firſt with ſilent aſtoniſhment, and apprehenſion for Alexander's ſafety; till ſeeing him turn at the end of his career, and come back rejoicing and triumphing for what he had performed, they all burſt out into acclamations of applauſe; and his father weeping for joy, kiſſed him as he came down from his horſe, and in his tranſport ſaid, "O my ſon, ſeek ſome "kingdom equal to thy worth, for Macedonia is too "little for thee."

Philip conſidering that he was of a temper not eaſily controuled, and that though he might be led to his duty by reaſon, he was impatient of compulſion, always endeavoured to perſuade, rather than to command him. And now looking upon inſtruction and education to be of too great difficulty and importance to be wholly truſted to thoſe maſters who only taught him muſick, and other ſuperficial and vulgar ſciences, and to require, as Sophocles ſays,

The guiding rudder and reſtraining curb,

He ſent for Ariſtotle, the moſt knowing and celebrated philoſopher of his time, and rewarded him with a mu-

ſtill more moderate when compared with what Tavernier relates that there were horſes in Arabia valued at a hundred thouſand crowns.

a munificence proportionable to the care he took to inſtruct his ſon. For he repeopled his native city Stagira, which he had cauſed to be demoliſhed a little before, reſtored to their habitations all the citizens who were in exile or ſlavery, and aſſigned them the Nymphæum for their ſtudies and exerciſes, near the town of Mieza, where to this day they ſhow Ariſtotle's ſtone ſeats, and the ſhady walks which he uſed to frequent. It appears that Alexander was inſtructed by him not only in morality and policy, but in thoſe more abſtruſe and difficult parts of learning, which are called by the peculiar names of (5) Acroamaticks, and Epopticks, and which are never communicated to the vulgar. For when he was in Aſia, and heard that Ariſtotle had publiſhed ſome treatiſes of that kind, he wrote to him with great freedom in the behalf of philoſophy, in this manner: Alexander to Ariſtotle health. "You have not "done well to publiſh your books of Acroamaticks; "for what is there now wherein I can ſurpaſs others, if "thoſe things in which I have been particularly inſtruct-"ed by you, be laid open to all? For my part, I had "rather excel others in the knowledge of the ſublimer "ſciences, than in the extent of my power and dominion." "Farewel." Ariſtotle, to appeaſe him and gratify this noble ambition, anſwered that thoſe books were indeed publiſhed, but not the ſubject of them. For indeed his Metaphyſicks are written in ſuch a manner that they are unſerviceable to learners, and uſeful only to thoſe who are well verſed in the principles of that

(5) That is ſuch a ſort of learning as is received by word of mouth, and into which the ſcholars were initiated by inſpection as into the myſteries. Theſe ſciences were called Acroamaticks, to diſtinguiſh them from the Exotericks. The firſt were never communicated but to particular perſons, who were known to Ariſtotle to be of a capacity proper to receive them, whereas he taught the others publickly to all who had a mind to hear them, Aul. Gell. lib. xx. cap. 5.

(6) It was ſo called becauſe he kept it in a very rich caſket which he found among the ſpoils of Darius, as Plutarch mentions afterwards.

(7) Of Aſtypalæa one of the Sporades.

that ſcience. It was probably to Ariſtotle that he owed the knowledge he had in phyſick: for when any of his friends were ſick, he would often preſcribe them their courſe of diet, and medicines proper to their diſeaſe, as we may find in his Epiſtles. He was naturally a great lover of every kind of learning, and much addicted to reading; but the book he delighted in moſt was Homer's Iliad, which he eſteemed and called a treaſure of military knowledge. He always had with him a copy of it which had been corrected for him by Ariſtotle, and which is called the Caſket-copy (6). Oneſicritus (7) informs us that he laid this with his dagger every night under his pillow. When he was in upper Aſia, where he could not be ſo eaſily ſupplied with books, he ordered Harpalus to ſend him ſome, who furniſhed him with Philiſtus's hiſtory, a great many of the tragedies of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æſchylus, and ſome dithyrambicks compoſed by Teleſtes and Philoxenus. For ſome time he had as great reſpect and affection (as he uſed to ſay himſelf) for Ariſtotle as for his father Philip; "for one," he ſaid, "had given him life, and the other had taught "him how to live well." But afterwards he had ſome miſtruſt of him, though not ſo much as to do him any injury; but the kindneſs he continued to ſhow him not being accompanied with that warmth and tenderneſs which he had formerly expreſſed, proved that his affection was abated (8). However that love of learning which was natural to him, and which his education

Sporades. He followed Alexander in his expedition into Aſia, and wrote an account of it. He was the pilot of Alexander's galley, and would make us believe in his hiſtory that he had the command of his fleet. Truth was one of the things leaſt regarded by him in his writings. He endeavoured to imitate Xenophon's ſtile, but he fell far ſhort of his elegance and ſimplicity.

(8) The real cauſe of this coldneſs was never known. Some have thought it was becauſe Ariſtotle was more zealous for the intereſts of Olympias than thoſe of Alexander. Others, becauſe he had recommended Calliſthenes the philoſopher to that Prince's ſervice. For Calliſthenes

education had increaſed, never left him, as appears by the reſpect he ſhowed to Anaxarchus, by the preſent of fifty talents which he ſent to (9) Xenocrates, and his particular care and eſteem for Dandamis and Calanus.

When Philip went on an expedition againſt the Byzantines, he left Alexander, then ſixteen years old, his lieutenant in Macedonia, and intruſted him with the royal ſignet. Alexander in his father's abſence reduced the rebellious (1) Medarans, and having taken their chief town by ſtorm, drove out the barbarous inhabitants, and planting a colony of ſeveral nations in their room, called the place Alexandropolis. At the battle of Chæronæa, which his father fought againſt the Grecians, he is ſaid to have been the firſt man that charged the ſacred band of the Thebans. And even in my remembrance there ſtood an old oak near the river Cephiſus, which the country people called Alexander's Oak, becauſe his tent was pitched under it. And not far off are to be ſeen the graves of the Macedonians who fell in that battle. This early bravery made Philip ſo fond of him, that nothing pleaſed him more than to hear his ſubjects call Alexander their King, and himſelf their General.

But the diſorders of his family, chiefly cauſed by his marriages and amours, (the whole kingdom in a manner taking part in the quarrels of the women) produced many diſputes and diſſenſions between them, which the ill-nature of Olympias, a woman of a jealous and implacable temper, ſtill encreaſed by exaſperating Alexander againſt his father. Among other things, this accident contributed greatly to inflame their reſentment. At the wedding of Cleopatra, whom Philip married, though ſhe was much too young for him,

henes was a perſon of too blunt a temper, and too much an enemy to flattery, to be long acceptable to a Prince who would be thought the ſon of Jupiter.

(9) Of theſe fifty talents Xenocrates took no more than three thouſand drachmas, telling Alexander that he had the moſt need of the reſt, who had ſo many mouths

him, her uncle Attalus in his cups desired the Macedonians would implore the Gods to give them a lawful successor to the kingdom by his niece. This so incensed Alexander, that he threw one of the cups at him, crying out, "You villain, what am I then a bastard?" Philip immediately started up and ran towards his son with his sword drawn; but by the good fortune of both, his excessive rage, and the wine he had drank, made his foot slip, so that he fell down on the floor. At which Alexander most reproachfully insulted over him: "See "there, said he, the man who was preparing to pass "out of Europe into Asia, overturned in passing from "one seat to another." Soon after this drunken brawl, he and his mother Olympias went from court, and when he had placed her in Epirus, he himself retired into Illyricum.

About this time Demaratus the Corinthian, an old friend of the family, who had the liberty of saying any thing among them without offence, came to visit Philip. After the first compliments and embraces were over, Philip asked him, "Whether the Grecians lived in amity "with one another?" "It ill becomes you, replied De-"maratus, to enquire after the state of Greece, who "have involved your own house in so many dissensions "and calamities." Philip was so much touched by this seasonable reproach, that he immediately sent for his son home, and at last by Demaratus's mediation prevailed with him to return. But this reconciliation lasted not long; for when Pexodorus, Governor of Caria, sent Aristocritus to treat of a match between his eldest daughter and Philip's son Aridæus, hoping by this alliance to secure his assistance upon occasion, Alexander's mother and friends took occasion by idle reports and slanders to raise a suspicion in his mind that Philip

mouths to feed, and so many men to pay.

(1) The name of Medarans is unknown; some suppose that it ought to be read Mædians, which was the name of a people in Thrace.

(2) Justin

lip intended by means of this ſplendid and powerful alliance to make Aridæus his ſucceſſor in the kingdom. This gave him great uneaſineſs; he therefore diſpatched one Theſſalus a player into Caria, to perſuade Pexodorus to think no more of Aridæus who was both illegitimate and a fool, rather to accept of him for his ſon-in-law. This propoſition was much more agreeable to Pexodorus than the former. But Philip, as ſoon as ever he was made acquainted with this tranſaction, went directly to his ſon's apartment, accompanied only by one of his moſt intimate friends, Philotas the ſon of Parmenio, and there reproved him with great ſeverity and bitterneſs; he upbraided him with the meanneſs and degeneracy of his ſpirit, and told him that he was unworthy of the crown he was to inherit, ſince he could degrade himſelf ſo far as to deſire the alliance of a Carian, who was at beſt but the vaſſal of a barbarous Prince. Nor did this ſatisfy his reſentment, for he wrote to the Corinthians, bidding them ſend Theſſalus to him in chains, and baniſhed Harpalus, Nearchus, Phrygius, and Ptolemy, his ſon's confidents and favourites, whom Alexander afterwards recalled, and raiſed to great honour and preferment.

Not long after this, a youth named Pauſanias (2), having been forcibly abuſed by the contrivance of Attalus and Cleopatra, and finding he could get no reparation for his diſgrace at Philip's hands, watched his opportunity and murdered him. The guilt of this fact was partly charged upon Olympias, who is ſaid to have encouraged and exaſperated the enraged youth to revenge, and partly upon Alexander himſelf, who

(2) Juſtin calls him "Nobilis ex Macedonibus Adoleſcens." He was one of Philip's lifeguard. Attalus not only abuſed him himſelf, but proſtituted him to all his gueſts at a feſtival entertainment. Juſtin ix. 7.

(3) Alexander cited only the two hundred and eighty-eighth verſe of that tragedy,

Τὸν δοῦλα, κ᾽ γήμαντα, κ᾽ γαμμένην.

which is ſpoken by Creon to Medea, "I have been informed," ſays

who when Pauſanias came and complained to him of the injury he had received, repeated this line out of Euripides's Medea (3),

The bridal father, bridegroom, and the bride.

However he took care to find out and puniſh the accomplices of the conſpiracy, and was very angry with Olympias for treating Cleopatra with too great rigour in his abſence.

Alexander was but twenty years old when he ſucceeded to the kingdom which was expoſed on all ſides to envy, hatred, and danger, the barbarous nations that bordered on Macedonia, being impatient of being governed by any but their own native princes, and though Philip had been victorious over the Grecians, yet as he had not time to ſubdue their ſpirits and inure them to the yoke, he had only diſturbed and unſettled the ſtate of affairs, which were left in great uncertainty and confuſion, becauſe cuſtom had not yet rendered the change familiar and eaſy. The Macedonians therefore, thinking the ſituation of the kingdom critical and dangerous, adviſed Alexander to abandon all deſigns of ſubduing Greece, and to endeavour to reduce the neighbouring nations by gentle means, and prevent innovations in their very beginning. But he rejected this counſel as weak and timorous, and rather choſe to ſecure himſelf by reſolution and magnanimity, than by ſeeming to ſtand in fear of any, to encourage all to trample on him. In conſequence of this determination he diſappointed the hoſtile deſigns of the barbarians by making a ſudden incurſion

ſays he, "that thy deſign is to puniſh the bridegroom, the bride, and the perſon who gave her." That is, Jaſon, Creuſa, and Creon. Alexander in the application of this verſe gives Pauſanias to underſtand that he ought to wreak his vengeance upon the bridegroom, that is Philip, upon the bride, that is his wife Cleopatra, and upon him that gave her, that is Attalus, who contrived the match between Philip and his niece.

(1) This

incurſion into their country, as far as the river Iſter, where he gave Syrmus King of the Triballians a conſiderable overthrow. And hearing that the Thebans were ready to revolt, and that the Athenians joined with them, he immediately marched through the ſtraits of Thermopylæ, ſaying, "Demoſthenes called me a child while I was "in Illyricum and the country of the Triballians, and a "youth while I was in Theſſaly; I will now ſhow him "before the walls of Athens that I am a man."

When he came to Thebes, being willing to accept of their repentance for what was paſt, he only demanded of them Phœnix and Prothytes the authors of the rebellion, and proclaimed a general pardon to thoſe who would come over to him. But when the Thebans, on the other ſide, not only required Philotas and Antipater to be delivered into their hands, but alſo publickly invited all who would aſſert the liberty of Greece into an aſſociation with them, he reſolved to turn his arms againſt them. The Thebans indeed defended themſelves by their alacrity and courage more than by their ſtrength, being much out numbered by their enemies. But when the Macedonian garriſon ſallied out upon them from the citadel, they were ſo encompaſſed on all ſides, that moſt of them fell in the battle. The city itſelf being taken, was ſacked and razed, on purpoſe that ſo ſevere an example might terrify the reſt of Greece into obedience. However, to colour this ſeverity, he gave out that he was forced to it by the preſſing complaints and accuſations of his confederates the Phocians and Platæans. So that, except the prieſts, thoſe between whom and the Macedonians a right of hoſpitality ſubſiſted, the family of the poet Pindar, and thoſe who were known to have oppoſed the rebellion, all the reſt, to the number of thirty thouſand, were publickly ſold for ſlaves; and it is computed, that upwards of ſix thouſand were put to the ſword. Among the other calamities that befel this miſerable city, it happened that ſome Thracian ſoldiers plundered and demoliſhed the houſe

houſe of an illuſtrius matron named Timoclea; and their Captain, after he had raviſhed her, aſked her if ſhe had any money concealed; ſhe anſwered that ſhe had, and bid him follow her into the garden, where ſhe ſhowed him a well, into which ſhe told him, upon the taking of the city, ſhe had thrown what ſhe had of moſt value. The Thracian ſtooping down to view the place, ſhe came behind him and puſhed him into the well, and then threw great ſtones in upon him, till ſhe had killed him. After which, when the ſoldiers led her away bound to Alexander, her mien and carriage ſhowed her to be a woman of a noble rank and an elevated mind; for ſhe did not betray the leaſt ſign of fear or aſtoniſhment. And when the King aſked her who ſhe was, "I am, ſaid ſhe, the ſiſter of Theagenes, who commanded in the battle of Chærona againſt "your father Philip, and fell there for the liberty of "Greece." Alexander was ſo ſurprized at both her action and her ſpeech, that he gave her and her children full liberty to go whither they pleaſed.

After this he received the Athenians into favour, although they had ſhowed themſelves ſo much concerned at the calamity of Thebes, that they omitted the celebration of their feſtivals, and entertained thoſe who eſcaped with all poſſible humanity. But whether his fury, like that of lions, was pacified after being ſo fully glutted with ſlaughter, or whether after an example of horrid cruelty he had a mind to appear merciful, he not only forgave the Athenians their paſt offences, but adviſed them to look to their affairs with caution and vigilance, upon this conſideration, that if he ſhould die they were like to be the arbiters of Greece. It is certain, that he often repented of his ſeverity to the Thebans, and his remorſe had ſuch influence on his temper, as to make him afterwards leſs rigorous to many others. He imputed alſo the murder of Clitus, which he committed in his wine, and the baſe deſertion of the Macedonians, who refuſed to follow him againſt the Indians, (by which his glory

was

was tarnished and his enterprize left imperfect) to the wrath and vengeance of Bacchus, the protector of Thebes. And it was observed, that whatsoever any Theban, who survived this victory, asked of him, was certainly granted.

Soon after this the Grecians being assembled at the Isthmus of Peloponnesus, declared their resolution of joining with Alexander in the war against the Persians. and made choice of him for their General. While he staid there, many statesmen and philosophers came from all parts to visit him, and congratulate him upon his election. He expected the same compliment from Diogenes of Sinope, for he was then at Corinth; but when he found that he took no notice of him, and that he did not so much as stir out of the suburb called Cranium, where he resided, Alexander went thither himself to visit him. Diogenes was at that time lying on the ground and basking himself in the sun; but when he saw so much company near him, he raised himself a little, and looked upon Alexander, who after saluting him, asked him, whether he wanted any thing; "Only, re-"plied he, stand from between me and the sun." Alexander was so affected at this answer, and so surprized at the greatness of the man's soul, who had taken so little notice of him, that as he went away, he told his followers who were laughing at the moroseness of the philosopher, "That if he were not Alexander, he could "wish to be Diogenes.

Then he went to Delphi, to consult Apollo concerning the success of the war he had undertaken; and happening to come at a time that was esteemed unlucky, when it was unlawful to give any answers from the Oracle, he sent messengers to desire the Priestess to do her office; but she refusing to comply, alledging that there was a law to the contrary, he went up himself, and drew her by force into the temple,

(4) This was the name of a mountain, and city in the country of the Odrysæ a people of Thrace. On mount Helicon in Bœotia there was a cave called "the "cave of the nymphs of Li-"bethra,

temple, where tired and overcome with ſtruggling, "My ſon," ſaid ſhe, "Thou art invincible." Alexander hearing this declared he had received ſuch an anſwer as he wiſhed for, and that it was needleſs to conſult the God any further. Among other prodigies that preceded the march of his army, the image of Orpheus at (4) Libethra, made of cypreſs wood, was ſeen to ſweat very plentifully. This diſcouraged many; but Ariſtander told him, that far from preſaging any ill to him, it ſignified he ſhould perform ſuch important and glorious actions as would make the poets and muſicians of future ages labour and ſweat to deſcribe and celebrate them.

His army by the ſmalleſt computation, conſiſted of thirty thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, and according to the largeſt account, of thirty-four thouſand foot, and four thouſand horſe. Ariſtobulus ſays, he had not a fund of above ſeventy talents for their pay, nor more than thirty days proviſion, if we may believe Duris; and Oneſicritus tells us, he was two hundred talents in debt. But though he ſet out on this expedition with ſuch ſcanty and inconſiderable ſupplies, yet he would not embark his army, till he had informed himſelf particularly what eſtates his friends had; to ſome of them therefore he gave lands, to ſome villages, and to others the annual profit of ſome town or harbour. Having thus diſpoſed of his whole revenue, "Perdiccas aſked him "what he had left for himſelf;" he replied, "My hopes." "Let us then," ſaid Perdic- "cas, who are to ſhare with you in your dangers, ſhare "with you in your hopes alſo." Perdiccas therefore refuſed to accept the eſtate he had aſſigned to him; and ſome others of his friends did the ſame; but to thoſe who willingly received, or deſired aſſiſtance of him, he liberally granted it, ſo that the greateſt part of his patrimony in Macedonia was ſpent in theſe donations.

With

bethra, upon which Strabo has founded his conjecture that the Thracians were the people who conſecrated all thoſe places to the muſes. Orpheus was a native of Libethra.

With this diſpoſition and theſe vigorous reſolutions, he paſſed the Helleſpont. At Troy he ſacrificed to Minerva, and honoured the memory of the heroes who were buried there, with ſolemn funeral libations. He anointed the monument of Achilles, and as the ancient cuſtom was, ran naked about it with his friends, and crowned it with garlands, declaring, how happy he eſteemed him, in having while he lived, ſo faithful a friend as Patroclus, and when he was dead, ſo famous a poet as Homer to immortalize his actions. While he was viewing the reſt of the antiquities and curioſities of the place, being told he might ſee Paris's harp, if he pleaſed, he ſaid, "He thought it not worth looking on, "but he ſhould be glad to ſee that of Achilles, with "which he had celebrated the glory and renowned ac- "tions of ſo many brave men (5).

In the mean time Darius's lieutenants had drawn together a great army, and lay encamped on the banks of the Granicus. This was in a manner the door leading out of Europe into Aſia, and Alexander was under a neceſſity of forcing it open by an engagement with the enemy. The depth of the river, with the unevenneſs and difficult aſcent of the oppoſite bank, which was to be gained by main force, was apprehended by ſome; and others were ſo ſuperſtitious as to think it an improper time to engage, becauſe it was unuſual for the kings of Macedonia to march with their forces in the month of June. But Alexander broke through theſe ſcruples, telling them, they ſhould call it a ſecond May. And when Parmenio adviſed him not to attempt any thing that day, becauſe it was late, he told him, "That he ſhould affront the "Helleſpont which he had lately paſſed, ſhould he fear "the Granicus. He therefore immediately entered the river with thirteen troops of horſe, and advanced againſt whole ſhowers of darts thrown from the other ſide,

(5) This alludes to that paſſage in the ninth book of the Iliad;

Amuſed at eaſe the God-like man they found,
Pleaſed with the ſolemn harp's harmonious

ſide, notwithſtanding the number of the enemy drawn up to oppoſe him, the diſadvantage of the ground, and the rapidity of the ſtream; ſo that this action ſeemed to have more of rage and madneſs in it, than of prudent conduct. However he perſiſted obſtinately to make good his paſſage, and at laſt with great difficulty climbing up the banks, which were very ſlippery by reaſon of the mud, he was forced to mingle among the thickeſt of the enemy, and fight hand to hand for a while, before he could bring his men, who were endeavouring ſtill to paſs, into any order. The enemy began the attack with loud ſhouts, and charging his cavalry with theirs, firſt fought with their javelins, and when they were broken, with their ſwords. And notwithſtanding many preſſed hard on Alexander himſelf (who was remarkable by his buckler and his creſt, on each ſide of which was a very large and beautiful plume of white feathers) yet he eſcaped unhurt, though his cuiraſs was pierced by a javelin at the joint. Rhœſaces and Spithridates, two Perſian commanders, attacked him at once; but he with great addreſs avoided Spithridates, and ſtruck his javelin with ſuch force againſt Rhœſaces's cuiraſs that it broke in pieces, upon which he betook himſelf to his ſword. While they were thus engaged, Spithridates watching his opportunity came up on one ſide of him, and raiſing himſelf upon his horſe, gave him ſuch a blow with his battle-ax on the helmet, that he cut off the creſt of it, with one ſide of his plume; and the helmet itſelf could hardly reſiſt the force of the ſtroke, for the edge of the weapon penetrated ſo far as to touch the very hair of his head. But as Spithridates was about to repeat his ſtroke, Clitus prevented him by running him through the body with his ſpear. At the ſame time Alexander diſpatched Rhœſaces with his ſword. While the horſe were thus dan-

harmonious ſound.
With this he ſooths his angry ſoul, and ſings
Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings.
Pope. II. ix. 245, &c.

(6) Some

dangerously engaged, the Macedonian phalanx passed the river, and the foot on each side advanced to fight. But the enemy hardly sustaining the first onset, soon gave ground and fled, all but the Grecian mercenaries, who making a stand upon a rising ground, desired quarter, which Alexander, guided rather by passion than judgment, refused to grant, and charging them himself first, had his horse (not Bucephalus but another) killed under him. In this attack upon these experienced and desperate men, he had more of his soldiers killed and wounded than in all the rest of the battle. The Persians lost in the engagement twenty thousand foot, and two thousand five hundred horse (6). On Alexander's side, as Aristobulus says, there were killed no more than thirty-four, nine of which were foot (7). To eternize their memory he erected a statue of each of them in brass of the workmanship of Lysippus (8). And that the Grecians might participate the fruits of his victory, he shared the booty among them. Particularly to the Athenians he sent three hundred bucklers; and upon all the rest of the spoils he ordered this boasting inscription to be set: "Alexander the son of Philip, "and all the Grecians, except the Lacedæmonians, won "these from the Barbarians who inhabit Asia." All the plate and purple garments, and whatever else of any value he took from the Persians, except a very small quantity, he sent as a present to his mother.

This

(6) Some copies read ten thousand foot; and that is the number mentioned by Diodorus; and according to him the number of horse was two thousand, but according to Arrian only one thousand.

(7) Arrian says that there were twenty-five of his friends killed, above sixty of the other cavalry, and thirty of the infantry.

(8) Quintius Curtius tells us that he paid this honour only to twenty-five of the cavalry, who were in the beginning of the action overpowered by numbers of the enemy. These statues were erected in a town of Macedonia called Dia, from whence Q. Metellus a long time after caused

This battle ſoon made a great change of affairs to Alexander's advantage. For Sardis itſelf, the chief ſeat of the barbarian power in the maritime provinces, and many other conſiderable places, were ſurrendered to him; only Halicarnaſſus and Miletus ſtood out, which he ſoon took by force, together with the adjacent territories. After this he was a little unſettled in his opinion how to proceed: ſometimes he thought it beſt to find out Darius as ſoon as he could, and put all to the hazard of a battle; at other times he looked upon it as a more prudent courſe, to make an entire conqueſt of the ſea-coaſt, and not to ſeek the enemy till he was ſtrengthened by the addition of the wealth and forces of theſe provinces. While he was thus deliberating what to do, it happened that a fountain near the city of Xanthus in Lycia, of its own accord ſwelled over its banks, and threw up a copper-plate upon the ſhore, on which was engraven in ancient characters, "That the time would come when the "Perſian empire ſhould be deſtroyed by the Grecians. Encouraged by this accident, he proceeded to reduce all the ſea-coaſt as far as Phœnice (9) and Cilicia. His paſſage through Pamphylia has been very pompouſly deſcribed by hiſtorians, and repreſented as in the higheſt degree marvellous and aſtoniſhing; as though by ſome divine power the waves which uſed to roll in impetuouſly from the main, and hardly ever leave the beach under the ſteep broken cliffs uncovered, retired to afford him a paſſage (1). Menander alludes to

cauſed them to be removed to Rome.

(9) Phœnice, as Palmerius has obſerved, was a territory in Lycia or Phamphilia.

(1) Strabo gives this account of it. "Near the city of Phaſelis "between Lycia and Pamphylia "there is a paſſage by the ſea "ſide, through which Alexander "marched his army. This paſſage "is very narrow, and lies between "the ſhore and the mountain Cli- "max, which overlooks the Pam- "phylian ſea. It is dry at low "water, ſo that travellers paſs "through it with ſafety; but "when the ſea is high it is all co- "vered over. It was then the "winter ſeaſon, and Alexander, "who depended much upon his "good fortune, was reſolved to ſet

to this extravagant ſtory in theſe verſes of one of his comedies;

Fortune to me is ſtrangely kind.
The very man I wiſh'd to find,
As if by magical device,
Starts up before me in a trice.
Should I deſire to croſs the ſea,
The waves would leave the paſſage free;
Secure I'd march from ſhore to ſhore.
Could Alexander's *ſelf do more?*

But Alexander in his epiſtles, mentions no ſuch extraordinary event, but ſays that in his march from Phaſelis he went through the paſſage called Climax. At Phaſelis he ſtaid ſome time; and finding the ſtatue of Theodectes, who was a native of that town, and was then dead, erected in the market-place, after he had ſupped, and drank plentifully, he went and danced about it, and crowned it with garlands; thus not ungracefully paying honour in his mirth to the memory of his friend, whoſe converſation he had formerly enjoyed, when he was Ariſtotle's ſcholar.

Soon after this he ſubdued the Piſidians who made head againſt him, and conquered the Phrygians, at whoſe chief city Gordium (which is ſaid to have been the ſeat of the ancient Midas) he ſaw the famous chariot faſtened with cords made of the bark of the Cornel-

"out without ſtaying till the floods "were abated, ſo that his men "were forced to march up to the "middle in water." Strabo, L. xiv. Quintus Curtius has embelliſhed his narration with circumſtances partly true and partly miraculous.

(2) The ancients were very expert in tying knots of ſuch a curious contrivance, that it was impoſſible for one that was not in the ſecret to untie them. In the eighth book of the Odyſſey, Ulyſſes when he would ſecure the preſents made him by the Phæacians in a cheſt provided for that purpoſe, and prevent their being ſtolen at any time whilſt he was aſleep, corded the cheſt, and folded the ends of the cords in a moſt intricate knot, which had been taught him by Circe.

(3) It is in the text Ἀσγάνδης

nel-Tree, and was informed that the inhabitants had a conſtant tradition, that the empire of the world was reſerved for him who ſhould untie the knot. Moſt are of opinion, that Alexander finding that he could not untie (2) it, becauſe the ends of it were ſecretly folded up within it, cut it aſunder with his ſword, ſo that ſeveral ends appeared. But Ariſtobulus tells us that he very eaſily undid it, by only pulling the pin out of the beam which faſtened the yoke to it, and afterwards drawing out the yoke itſelf. From hence he advanced into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, both which countries he ſoon reduced; and then hearing of the death of Memnon, the beſt commander Darius had upon the ſea-coaſts, who if he had lived, might have put a great ſtop to the progreſs of his arms, he was the rather induced to carry the war into the upper provinces of Aſia.

Darius was by this time upon his march from Suſa, firmly confiding, not only in the number of his men, who amounted to ſix hundred thouſand, but likewiſe in a dream which the magicians interpreted rather in flattery to him, than with any regard to truth. He dreamed that he ſaw the Macedonian phalanx all on fire, and Alexander waiting on him clad in the ſame robe which he uſed to wear when he was (3) Aſgandes to the late King; after which going into the temple of Belus, he vaniſhed out of his ſight. By this dream, in my opinion, the Gods deſigned to ſhow him that the actions

δης ὢν βασιλέως. Aſgandes, Aſcandes, or Aſtandes, is without doubt a Perſian word. Heſychius explains it by ἄγγελος, Ἀσκάνδης Ἄγγελος, Aſcandes a courier. In another place he writes it ἀσάνδης ἡμεροδρόμος, it is otherwiſe defined ὁ ἐκ διαδοχῆς γραμματοφόρος. The right name is Aſtandes, according to the Abbé Renaudot. The infinitive Staden ſignifies Stare, iſtanda ſtator, from whence comes the Greek Aſtandes, for it is indifferent how the firſt ſyllable is pronounced. Aſtandes is the ſame with what Cicero calls Stator. "Litteras a te mihi Sta- "tor tuus reddidit Tarſi. Your "courier delivered me your let- "ters at Tarſus." Darius therefore muſt have been what we call a State meſſenger; or perhaps the Perſians gave that title to a more conſiderable officer, and it might denote the chief of the couriers, or Poſtmaſter-General.

actions of the Macedonians would be very illuſtrious, and that as he from an Aſgandes had arrived at the crown, ſo Alexander ſhould come to be maſter of Aſia, and not long ſurviving his conqueſts, conclude his life with great glory. Darius's confidence increaſed the more, becauſe Alexander ſpent ſo much time in Cilicia, which he imputed to his cowardice: but it was ſickneſs that detained him there, which ſome ſay he contracted by fatiguing himſelf too much, others by bathing in the river Cydnus, whoſe waters were exceeding cold. However it happened, none of his phyſicians would venture to give him any remedies, thinking his caſe deſperate, and fearing the cenſure and reſentment of the Macedonians, if they ſhould fail in the cure; till Philip the Acarnanian conſidering his extreme danger, and confiding in his friendſhip, reſolved to try the utmoſt efforts of his art, and rather hazard his own credit and life, than ſuffer him to periſh for want of phyſick, which he confidently adminiſtred to him, encouraging him to take it boldly, if he deſired a ſpeedy recovery, in order to proſecute the war. At this very time Parmenio wrote to Alexander from the camp, bidding him beware of Philip, he being bribed to kill him by Darius, who had offered him great ſums of money, and promiſed him his daughter in marriage. When he had peruſed the letter, he put it under his pillow, without ſhowing it to any of his friends. At the hour appointed, Philip, attended by the other phyſicians, came into the bedchamber with the potion he had prepared for the King, who delivered him the letter to read, and at the ſame time ſwallowed the potion with great chearfulneſs and intrepidity. This was a very ſingular and ſtriking ſcene, Alexander drinking the medicine, and Philip reading the letter at the ſame time, each looking earneſtly upon the other, but with

(4) This Amyntas was the ſon of Andiochus. He retired out of Macedonia not on account of any ill treatment, but merely for

with different ſentiments; for Alexander's looks were chearful and open, expreſſing his kindneſs to Philip, and his confidence in him; while the other ſeemed aſtoniſhed at the accuſation, and appealed to the Gods to witneſs his innocence, ſometimes lifting up his hands to heaven, and then throwing himſelf down by the bedſide, and beſeeching Alexander to lay aſide all fear, and rely on his fidelity. The medicine at firſt wrought ſo ſtrongly upon him, that it overcame his ſpirits, and brought him ſo low that he loſt his ſpeech, and falling into a ſwoon had ſcarce any ſenſe left; but ſoon after by Philip's means his health and ſtrength returned, and he ſhowed himſelf in publick to the Macedonians, who were in continual fear and dejection till they ſaw him abroad again.

There was at this time in Darius's army a Macedonian fugitive, named Amyntas (4), who was well acquainted with Alexander's temper. This man, when he ſaw that Darius intended to march through the ſtrait paſſages in order to meet the enemy, adviſed him rather to remain in the open country, as he had ſo great an army and was to engage with one much inferior in number. Darius told him he was afraid the enemy would endeavour to run away, and ſo Alexander would eſcape out of his hands. "That fear," replied Amyntas, "is needleſs, for you may aſſure yourſelf that "far from avoiding you, he will make all the ſpeed he "can to meet you, and is now on his march towards "you." But Amyntas's counſel was to no purpoſe, for Darius immediately decamping, marched into Cilicia, at the ſame time that Alexander advanced into Syria to meet him; but miſſing one another in the night, they both came back again. Alexander, being highly pleaſed with the accident, made all the haſte he could to fight in the narrow paſſages, while Darius ſtrove to recover his former ground, and draw his army out of ſo

for fear of the King; for as he hated Alexander, he concluded that he was hated by him.

(5) Dio-

ſo diſadvantageous a place. For now he began to perceive his error in engaging too far into a country, which by reaſon of the ſea, the mountains, and the river Pinarus which ran through the midſt of it, would neceſſitate him to divide his forces, render his horſe almoſt unſerviceable, and only cover and ſupply the weakneſs of the enemy. Fortune having afforded ſo favourable a ſituation to Alexander, he was careful to improve it to the beſt advantage. For though much inferior in numbers, he would not ſuffer himſelf to be encloſed, but ſtretched his right wing much further out than the left of the enemy's, and fighting there himſelf in the very foremoſt ranks, put the barbarians to flight. In this battle he was wounded in the thigh by Darius, (as Chares ſays) with whom he fought hand to hand. But in the account which he himſelf gave Antipater of the battle, though indeed he owns that he was wounded in the thigh with a ſword, though not dangerouſly, he takes no notice who it was that wounded him.

Nothing was wanting to compleat this glorious victory, which he had gained at the expence of above an hundred and ten thouſand (5) of his enemies lives, but the taking the perſon of Darius, who eſcaped very narrowly by flight, having the ſtart of him by only four or five furlongs. However having taken his chariot and his bow, he returned from purſuing him, and found his own men buſy in pillaging the camp of the barbarians, which was exceedingly rich; though Darius, thinking it unſafe to take the field with too much baggage, had left moſt of it behind at Damaſcus. But they reſerved for Alexander himſelf the tent of Darius, which was filled with attendants richly cloathed, with coſtly furniture, and vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver. After he had put off his armour he went to bathe, ſaying, "Let "us now cleanſe and refreſh ourſelves after the fatigues "of the battle, in Darius's bath.

Not

(5) Diodorus ſays an hundred and thirty thouſand.

(6) This

"Not so, replied one of his followers, but in Alexander's "rather, for the goods of the vanquished are and always "ought to be reputed the conqueror's." Here, when he beheld the bathing vessels, the water-pots, vials, and ointment boxes all of gold, curiously wrought, and smelt the fragrant odours with which the whole place was exquisitely perfumed, and from thence passed into another lofty and spacious apartment, where the couches, the table, and the entertainment, were wonderfully magnificent, he turned to those about him, and said, "This, it seems, it was to be a King.

As he was going to supper, word was brought him that Darius's mother and wife, and two unmarried daughters, being taken among the rest of the prisoners, upon the sight of his chariot and bow burst into the most violent lamentation, imagining him to be dead. After a little pause, more pitying their affliction than rejoicing in his own success, he sent Leonatus to them, to let them know Darius was not dead, and that they need not be afraid of Alexander, who made war upon Darius only for dominion; and that they should find themselves as well provided for as ever they were in Darius's most flourishing condition, when his empire was entire. This kind message could not but be very welcome to the captive princesses, especially as it was followed by actions no less humane and generous: for he gave them leave to bury whom they pleased of the Persians, and to make use of what garments and furniture they thought fit out of the booty. He diminished nothing of their equipage, or of the respect formerly paid them, and allowed larger pensions for their maintenance, than ever they had before. But the noblest and most royal instance of his generosity was, that he never suffered those illustrious and virtuous prisoners to hear or even to apprehend and suspect any thing that was indecent; so that they seemed lodged in some temple, or sacred retreat of virgins, where they enjoyed an undisturbed privacy, rather than in the camp of an enemy. Not that he wanted

wanted temptation, for Darius's wife was accounted the moſt beautiful Princeſs then living, as her huſband was the talleſt and comelieſt man of his time; and the daughters were no leſs beautiful than their parents. But Alexander eſteeming it more glorious to govern himſelf than to conquer his enemies, touched none of them, nor enjoyed any other woman before marriage, except Barſina, Memnon's widow, who was taken priſoner at Damaſcus. She was very knowing in the Grecian learning, and of an amiable temper: and her father Artabazus was the ſon of the King's daughter. Alexander therefore being urged by Parmennio (as Ariſtobulus tells us) was deſirous to obtain the poſſeſſion of a woman in whom beauty was joined with an illuſtrious deſcent and an exalted mind. Of the reſt of the female captives, though they were tall and beautiful, he took no further notice than to ſay jocoſely, "What eye-ſores theſe Perſian women are!" To the beauty of their perſons he oppoſed as a countercharm the beauty of temperance and continence; ſo that he viewed them with as little emotion as if they had been lifeleſs ſtatues. And when Philoxenus, his lieutenant on the ſea-coaſt, wrote to him to know if he would buy two very fine boys, which one Theodorus a Tarentine had to ſell, he was ſo offended, that he often cried out aloud to his friends, "What baſeneſs has Philoxenus ever obſerved in me, that he "ſhould preſume to make me ſuch a reproachful offer?" And immediately wrote him a very ſharp letter commanding him to diſmiſs Theodorus, and his vile merchandize with diſgrace. Nor was he leſs ſevere to Agnon, who ſent him word he would buy a Corinthian youth celebrated for his beauty named Crobylus, to preſent him with. And hearing that Damon and Timotheus, two of Parmenio's ſoldiers, had abuſed the

(6) This Princeſs was the daughter of Hecatomnus King of Caria. After the death of Mauſolus her eldeſt brother, and his conſort Artemiſia, who died without children, ſhe ſucceeded in the kingdom with her brother Hidreus, to whom ſhe had been married,

the wives of ſome ſtrangers who were in his pay, he wrote to Parmenio, charging him ſtrictly, if he found them guilty, to put them to death, like thoſe noxious animals whom nature has formed to poiſon and deſtroy mankind. In the ſame letter he added, "that he had not "ſo much as ſeen, or deſired to ſee, the wife of Darius, "no, nor ſuffered any body to ſpeak of her beauty before "him." He uſed to ſay, "that ſleep, and the act of gene-"ration, chiefly made him ſenſible that he was mortal; "becauſe wearineſs and pleaſure both proceeded from "the ſame frailty and imbecility of human nature."

In his diet he was extremely temperate, as appears among other proofs, by what he ſaid to (6) Ada, whom he called his mother, and afterwards created Queen of Caria. For when ſhe out of kindneſs ſent him every day many curious diſhes, and ſweetmeats, and would have furniſhed him with ſuch cooks and makers of paſtry as were excellent in their kind, he told her, "He wanted "none of them, his preceptor Leonidas having already "given him the beſt, for he taught him by marching "before day-light to prepare for his dinner, and by "dining moderately to create an appetite for ſupper." And he added, "that Leonidas uſed to open and ſearch "the furniture of his chamber and his wardrobe, to ſee "if his mother had put there any thing that was nice or "ſuperfluous." He was much leſs addicted to wine than was generally believed, That which gave people occaſion to think ſo of him, was, that when he had nothing elſe to do, he loved to ſit long at table, though he diſcourſed rather than drank, and talked a great while between every glaſs. For when his affairs called upon him, he would not be detained as other generals often were, either by wine, or ſleep, nuptial ſolemnities, ſpectacles, or any other diverſion whatſoever: a convincing argument of which is, that in the ſhort

married. Her huſband dying before her, Pexodarus her third brother dethroned her, and after his death his ſon-in-law Orontobates uſurped the crown. But Alexander reſtored her to the poſſeſſion of her dominions.

(7) Quintus

ſhort time he lived, he accompliſhed ſo many great actions. When he was free from employment his manner of life was this: as ſoon as he roſe he ſacrificed to the Gods; he then ſat down to dinner, and ſpent the reſt of the day either in hunting, or in diſciplining and regulating his ſoldiers, or in reading. In marches that required no great haſte, he would learn to ſhoot as he went along, or to mount a chariot and alight from it in full ſpeed. Sometimes, as his journals tell us, he would divert himſelf with fox-hunting, and fowling; and when he came to the place where he was to lodge, after he had bathed, and was anointed, he would call for his bakers, and chief cooks, to know if they had made the neceſſary preparations for ſupper. He never ſupped early nor before it was quite dark; and he was extremely careful at meals that no one ſhould be neglected, and that all who ſat with him ſhould be ſerved alike. His talkative humour, as I mentioned before, made him delight to ſit long at table; and then, though otherwiſe no Prince's converſation was ever ſo agreeable, and though he was poſſeſſed of all the charms and graces of diſcourſe, he would talk in ſo vaunting and oſtentatious a ſtrain, and dwell ſo much on his military exploits, that he gave his flatterers a great advantage over him, and cauſed great diſguſt to the ſenſible part of the company, who though they diſdained to contend with the others in flattery, yet were afraid to praiſe him leſs; ſo that between the ſhame and the danger they were greatly at loſs how to conduct themſelves. After he roſe from table he uſed to bathe, and then went to reſt; and he would often ſleep till noon, and ſometimes all day long. He was ſo very temperate in his diet, that when any excellent fiſh or fruits were ſent him, he would diſtribute them among his friends, and hardly reſerve any for his own eating.

(7) Quintus Curtius ſays they bound the ſtatue of Apollo with a golden chain, and faſtened it to the altar of Hercules, to whom the

eating. His table however was always magnificent, the expence of it ſtill encreaſing with his good fortune, till it amounted to ten thouſand drachmas a day, to which ſum he limited it; and he would never ſuffer any one to lay out more than this in an entertainment to which he was invited.

After the battle of Iſſus, he ſent to Damaſcus to ſeize upon the money and baggage, the wives and children of the Perſians of which the Theſſalian horſemen had the greateſt ſhare; for as they had greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their bravery in the fight he ſent them thither on purpoſe to make their reward ſuitable to their courage: not but that the reſt of the army conſiderably enriched themſelves. This firſt gave the Macedonians ſuch a taſte of the wealth, women, and manner of living of the Perſians, that they purſued and traced their gold with the eagerneſs and ardour of hounds upon a ſcent. Alexander, before he proceeded any further, thought it neceſſary to make himſelf maſter of the ſea-coaſt. Thoſe who governed in Cyprus, put that iſland into his poſſeſſion; and all Phœnicia, except Tyre, was ſurrendered to him without reſiſtance. During the ſiege of this city, which with mounts of earth caſt up, and battering engines, and two hundred galleys by ſea, was carried on for ſeven months together, he dreamed that he ſaw Hercules upon the walls, reaching out his hand, and calling to him. And many of the Tyrians in their ſleep fancied that Apollo told them he was diſpleaſed with their actions, and was about to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Upon which, as if the God were a fugitive taken in the fact, (7) they chained his ſtatue, and nailed it to the pedeſtal, calling him an Alexandriſt. Another time Alexander dreamed that he ſaw a ſatyr mocking him at a diſtance, and when he endeavoured to catch him, he ſtill eſcaped from him, till

the city was dedicated, thinking by his means to hinder the other from deſerting them.

(8) i. e. Σὰ

till at last after much entreaty, and a long pursuit he suffered him to take hold of him. The sooth-sayers making two words of Satyros, assured him (8) Tyre was his own. The inhabitants at this time show the fountain near which Alexander slept, when he fancied the satyr appeared to him.

While the body of the army lay before Tyre, he made a short excursion against the Arabians, who inhabit mount Antilibanus. There he hazarded his life, to bring off his master Lysimachus, who would needs go along with him, boasting that he was neither older, nor inferior in courage to Phœnix, Achilles's tutor, whose name he affected to bear. For when quitting their horses, they marched up the hill on foot, the rest of the soldiers outwent them a great deal; for night drawing on, and the enemy being near, Alexander would not leave Lysimachus who was spent and fatigued, but stayed behind to encourage and help him; so that before he was aware, he found that he was a great way from his army with a slender attendance, and that he must pass the night, which was extremely dark and cold, in a very uncomfortable place. At last seeing a great many scattered fires of the enemy at some distance, and trusting to his agility of body, and being always used, by showing himself indefatigable in labour, to relieve and support the Macedonians in their distress, he ran to one of the neareſt fires, and with his dagger killing two of the barbarians that sat by it, snatched up a lighted brand, and returned with it to his own men, who immediately made a great fire, which so terrified the enemy, that most of them fled, and those that assaulted them were soon routed by which means they lodged securely the rest of the night. This action is related by Chares.

But to return to the siege, it had this issue. Alexander, that he might refresh his army, harassed with many former encounters, drew out only a small party, rather

(8) i. e. Σὰ τύρ⊙, tua erit Tyrus.

(9) The

rather to keep the enemy employed, than with any proſpect of much advantage. It happened at this time, that Ariſtander after he had ſacrificed and viewed the entrails, affirmed confidently to thoſe who ſtood by, that the city would be certainly taken that very month. This prediction was received with great laughter and contempt, that day being the laſt of the month. But the King taking notice of his perplexity, and always favouring predictions, commanded that they ſhould not reckon that the thirtieth but the twenty-eighth day of the month, and ordering the trumpets to ſound, attacked the walls more vigorouſly than he at firſt intended. The fury of the aſſault ſo inflamed the reſt of his forces who were left in the camp, that they could not refrain from advancing to ſecond it; and the Tyrians not being able to withſtand them, the town was taken that very day. Afterwards while he was employed in the ſiege of Gaza the metropolis of Syria, a bird flying over him, let a clod of earth fall upon his ſhoulder, and then ſettling upon one of the battering engines, was ſuddenly entangled in thongs by which the ropes of the machine were turned. This was agreeable to Ariſtander's prediction, who foretold that Alexander ſhould be wounded in the ſhoulder, and the city reduced.

From hence he ſent great part of the ſpoils to Olympias, Cleopatra, and the reſt of his friends, not omitting his preceptor Leonidas, on whom he beſtowed five hundred talents weight of frankincenſe, and an hundred of myrrh, prompted to it by the remembrance of the hopes which Leonidas had of him when he was but a child. For Leonidas, it ſeems, ſeeing him one day while he was ſacrificing fill both his hands with frankincenſe, and throw it into the fire, told him "it became him to "be more ſparing in offerings then, and not to be ſo "profuſe till he was maſter of the countries where thoſe "rich gums were produced." Upon this account Alexander wrote him word "that he had ſent him a large "quantity of myrrh and frankincenſe, that for the fu-"ture he might not be ſo niggardly to the Gods."

Among the treaſures and other booty taken from Darius, there was a very rich and curious caſket, which being preſented to Alexander, he aſked thoſe about him what they thought fitteſt to be laid up in it; and when each had delivered his opinion, he told them he eſteemed nothing ſo worthy to be preſerved in it as Homer's Iliad. This ſtory is atteſted by many credible authors; and if that be true which the inhabitants of Alexandria, relying upon the credit of Heraclides, tell us, Homer was not an idle nor unprofitable companion to him in his expedition. For when he was maſter of Egypt, deſigning to ſettle a colony of Grecians there, he reſolved to build a large and populous city, and give it his own name. After he had meaſured and incloſed the ground with the advice of his workmen, he one night in his ſleep ſaw a wonderful viſion: a grey-headed old man, of a venerable aſpect, appeared to ſtand by him, and pronounce theſe verſes:

High o'er a gulphy ſea the Pharian *iſle*
Fronts the deep roar of diſemboguing Nile. Pope.

Alexander upon this immediately roſe up and went to Pharos, which at that time was an iſland lying a little above the Canobick mouth of the Nile, though now it is joined to the continent by a cauſeway. As ſoon as he ſaw the commodious ſituation of the place oppoſite to the iſland, it being a neck of land of a ſuitable breadth, having on one ſide a great lake, and on the other the ſea which there forms a capacious haven, he ſaid, Homer, beſide his other excellencies, was a very good architect; and ordered the plan of a city to be drawn anſwerable to the place. For want of chalk, the ſoil being black, they made uſe of flower, with which they drew a line about the ſemi-circular bay that forms the haven; this was again incloſed by ſtrait lines, and the figure of the city reſembled that of a Macedonian cloak. While he was pleaſing himſelf with his deſign, on a ſudden an infinite number

ber of great birds of ſeveral kinds, riſing like a black cloud out of the river and the lake, devoured all the flower that was uſed in marking out the lines; at which omen Alexander was much troubled, till the augurs encouraged him to proceed, by telling him it was a ſign that the city he was about to build, would enjoy ſuch plenty of all things, that it would contribute to the nouriſhment and ſupport of many nations. He therefore commanded the workmen to go on, while he went to viſit the temple of Jupiter Ammon.

This was a long, laborious and difficult journey, and dangerous in two reſpects: firſt, becauſe of the want of water, on which account the country is quite uninhabited for the ſpace of many days journey; and, ſecondly, becauſe of the violence of the ſouth-wind, which might riſe upon them, while they were travelling through the vaſt deep ſands, as it did formerly upon Cambyſes's army, blowing the ſand together in heaps, and rolling it in waves upon his men, till fifty thouſand were ſwallowed up and deſtroyed by it. All theſe difficulties were weighed and repreſented to him; but Alexander was not eaſily to be diverted from any thing he was bent upon. For fortune having hitherto ſeconded him in his deſigns, made him obſtinate in reſolutions; and the greatneſs of his mind raiſed a confidence in him of ſurmounting almoſt invincible difficulties; as if it were not enough to be always victorious in the field, unleſs places and ſeaſons, and nature herſelf ſubmitted to him. The relief and aſſiſtance he met with through all the difficulties of his his journey were more generally believed to proceed from the Gods, than the Oracles he received afterwards; and it may be added, that this relief and aſſiſtance contributed in ſome meaſure to procure greater credit to thoſe Oracles. For firſt, the plentiful rains that fell, preſerved them from the danger of thirſt, and allaying the extreme dryneſs of the ſand, not only rendered it moiſt and firm, but alſo cleared

the air and made it fitter for reſpiration. Beſides, when they were out of their way, and were wandering up and down, becauſe the marks which uſed to direct the guides were diſordered and loſt, they were ſet right again by ſome ravens who flew before them in their march, and waited for them when they halted. But the greateſt miracle of all was, that if any of the company went aſtray in the night, theſe birds never ceaſed croaking and making a noiſe, as Calliſthenes informs us, till by that means they had brought them into the right way again. Having paſſed through the deſart, they came to the city, where the High-prieſt welcomed Alexander from his father Ammon; and being aſked by him whether any of his father's murderers had eſcaped puniſhment, he charged him "to "ſpeak with more reſpect, for his father was not mor-"tal." Then Alexander changing the terms deſired to know of him, "if any of thoſe who murdered Philip "were yet unpuniſhed; and alſo, Whether the empire "of the world was reſerved for him?" The God anſwered, "that he ſhould obtain it, and that Philip's death "was fully revenged." This gave him ſo much ſatisfaction, that he made ſplendid offerings to Jupiter, and gave the prieſts very rich preſents. This is what moſt authors write concerning the Oracles: but Alexander, in a letter to his mother, tells her, there were ſome ſecret anſwers, which at his return he would communicate to her only. Others ſay, that the prieſt, deſiring to uſe a kind and tender expreſſion, and call Alexander in the Greek tongue Paidion, which ſignifies My Son, miſtaking the pronunciation, uſed the S inſtead of the N, and ſaid Paidios, or Son of Jupiter. Alexander was very well pleaſed with this miſtake; and hence the report aroſe that the Oracle had called him the ſon of Jupiter.

Among

(9) The ſaying of Anaxarchus does not appear to ſo much advantage here as in Diogenes, and the ſenſe Plutarch puts upon it is forced, and nothing to the purpoſe. There is one more true, and

Among the ſayings of one Pſammon, a philoſopher, whom he converſed with in Egypt, he moſt approved of this, "That all men are governed by God, becauſe in every thing that which is chief and commands is divine." But what he pronounced himſelf upon this ſubject, was more like a philoſopher; for he ſaid, "God "was the common father of all, but more particularly "of good men." To the barbarians he behaved with great haughtineſs, as if he were fully perſuaded of his divine original; but to the Grecians more moderately, and with leſs affectation of divinity; except in his letter to the Athenians concerning Samos, where he tells them "they held not that free and ſplendid city "by virtue of his gift, but from the bounty of him "who at that time was called his ſovereign and father," meaning Philip. However, afterwards being wounded with an arrow, and feeling much pain, he turned to thoſe about him, and told them, that it was real blood that dropped from him, and not the Ichor,

Such as th' immortal Gods were wont to ſhed.

Another time when it thundered ſo much that every body was afraid, and Anaxarchus the ſophiſt aſked him, "If he who was Jupiter's own ſon could thunder too?" Alexander replied laughing, "I do not chuſe to frighten my friends, as you would have me, who deſpiſed "my table for being furniſhed with fiſh, and not with "the heads of governors of provinces." For it is certain, that (9) Anaxarchus ſeeing a preſent of ſmall fiſhes, which the King ſent to Hephæſtion, expreſſed himſelf in that manner, to ridicule thoſe who take great pains, and run deſperate hazards in purſuit of ſuch things as are the common objects of admiration, while in reality they have little more pleaſure or enjoyment than

and more natural, of which the judgment is left to the reader. Anaxarchus mortally hated Nicocreon tyrant of Salamis. Alexander having one day invited him to dinner, aſked him how

than others. From what I have ſaid upon this ſubject, it is apparent, that Alexander was ſo arrogantly vain as to think himſelf really a God, but only uſed this pretence that others might more readily ſubmit to him.

At his return out of Egypt into Phœnicia, he ſacrificed and made ſolemn proceſſions, to which were added choruſes of dancing and the repreſentation of tragedies. And theſe ſpectacles were remarkable both for the ſplendor of the furniture and ornaments, and for the zeal and contention of thoſe who exhibited them. For the kings of Cyprus were at the charge of them, in the ſame manner as thoſe perſons are at Athens, who are choſen by lot out of the tribes. And indeed, they ſtrove with wonderful emulation to out-vie each other; chiefly Nicocreon King of Salamis, and Paſicrates of Soli, who were appointed to procure the moſt celebrated actors; and Paſicrates procured Athenodorus, and Nicocreon Theſſalus. Theſſalus was moſt favoured by Alexander, though this did not appear till Athenodorus was declared victor by the plurality of ſuffrages. For then at his going away, he ſaid that the judges deſerved to be commended for what they had done, but that he would willingly have loſt part of his kingdom, rather than have ſeen Theſſalus over-come. However, when he underſtood that Athenodorus was fined by the Athenians, for being abſent from the feſtival celebrated in honour of Bacchus, though he refuſed his requeſt of writing in his behalf, yet he paid the fine for him. Another time Lycon of Scarphia happened to act with great applauſe in the theatre, and inſerted a verſe in his part, by which he begged ten talents of Alexander; who laughed and gave him the money.

About

he liked his entertainment. "It "is moſt excellent," replied "A- "naxarchus, it wants but one diſh, "and that a delicious one, the head "of a tyrant;" meaning Nicocreon. Here the ſenſe is clear. But the philoſopher paid dear for it; for after the death of Alexander he was forced by contrary winds upon the coaſts of Cyprus, where the tyrant ſeized him, and put him to death.

(1) In-

About this time Darius sent a letter and some of his friends to him, beseeching him to accept of ten thousand talents as a ransom for the captives, and offering him one of his daughters in marriage, with a cession of all the countries on this side the Euphrates (1), on condition he would enter into a treaty of friendship and alliance with him. He communicated these propositions to his friends, and when Parmenio said, "If I were Alexander, I would accept them;" (2) "so would I," said the King, "if I were Parmenio." His answer to Darius was, "that if he would yield himself up into his power, he would treat him with all imaginable kindness; if not, he was resolved immediately "to advance towards him." But the death of Darius's wife, who died in childbed, made him soon after repent of this resolution; and it appeared that he was deeply concerned at being deprived of such an opportunity of exercising his generosity and humanity. He buried her, however, with all possible magnificence.

Among the eunuchs who waited in the Queen's chamber, and were taken prisoners with the women, there was one Tyreus, who getting out of the camp, fled away on horseback to Darius, to inform him of his wife's death; which as soon as he heard, he could not forbear beating his head, and bursting into tears with lamentable outcries; "Alas!" said he, "how great "is the calamity of the Persians! was it not enough that "their King's consort and sister was a prisoner in her life-"time, but she must, now she is dead also, be deprived "of the royal obsequies? The eunuch replied, "As to "her obsequies, or any other marks of honour and dis-"tinction due to a person of her birth and dignity, you "have no reason to accuse the ill fortune of your country;

(1) Instead of the Euphrates Diodorus says the Halys.

(2) Longinus endeavouring in his seventh chapter to prove that it is peculiar to great men to let fall even in their familiar discourse things great and extraordinary, quotes this answer of Alexander to Parmenio. "It must "be allowed," says he, "that none "but Alexander could return such "an answer."

" try; for to my knowledge neither your Queen Statira " when alive, nor your mother, nor children, have want- " ed any thing of what they enjoyed in their former hap- " py condition, except the light of your countenance, " which I doubt not but the mighty (3) Oromaſdes will " yet reſtore with greater ſplendor and glory than ever: " neither at her death has any thing been omitted, that " could render her obſequies ſolemn and illuſtrious; but " on the contrary they have been honoured with the tears " of your very enemies; for Alexander is as merciful " after victory, as he is terrible in the field." At the hearing of theſe words, ſuch was the grief and emotion of Darius's mind, that he could not help entertaining ſome abſurd ſuſpicions. Wherefore taking Tyreus aſide into a more private apartment in his tent: " Unleſs thou " likewiſe," ſaid he to him, " haſt deſerted me together " with the good fortune of Perſia and art become a Ma- " cedonian in thy heart; if thou yet beareſt me any reſpect, " and owneſt me for thy ſovereign, tell me, I charge thee, " by the veneration thou payeſt to the light of Mithras, " and this right hand of thy King; Do I not lament the " leaſt of Statira's misfortunes? Have I not ſuffered " ſomething more injurious and deplorable in her life- " time? And had I not been miſerable with leſs diſhonour, " if I had met with a more cruel and inhuman enemy? " For how is it poſſible a young man as he is, ſhould " treat the wife of Darius with ſo much generoſity, " without paſſing the bounds of a virtuous converſation?" Whilſt he was yet ſpeaking, Tyreus threw himſelf at his feet, and beſought him " neither to wrong Alexander " ſo much, nor his dead wife and ſiſter, nor to deprive " himſelf of the only conſolation he was capable of in " his adverſity, the firm belief that he was overcome by " a man, whoſe virtues raiſed him far above the rank " of

(3) Thus the Perſians called that God whom they took to be the good principle; and the author of evil they called Arimanius. The firſt was according to them the offspring of the pureſt light, and the other of darkneſs.

(4) The Perſians always called their throne "the throne of Cyrus

"of human nature;" adding, "that he ought to look "upon Alexander with love and admiration, who had "given no leſs proofs of his continence towards the "Perſian women, than of his valour againſt the men." The eunuch confirmed all he ſaid with dreadful oaths and imprecations, and further enlarged in the deſcription of Alexander's moderation and magnanimity upon other occaſions. Darius, then returned into the next room, where before all his courtiers he lifted up his hands to heaven, and uttered this prayer; "Ye Gods, "who preſide over the birth of men and the fate of "kingdoms; grant above all things that I may reſtore "the fortune of Perſia, and leave it in as flouriſhing a "condition as I found it, and that by obtaining the "victory, I may have it in my power to make ſome "grateful returns to Alexander, for the kindneſs which "in my adverſity he has ſhowed to thoſe who are "deareſt to me. But if indeed the fatal time be come, "which is to put a period to the Perſian monarchy; if "our ruin be a debt that muſt be inevitably paid to the "divine vengeance, and the viciſſitude of things; then "I beſeech you grant that no other man but Alexander "may ſit upon the throne of Cyrus (4)." Theſe events and circumſtances are atteſted by moſt writers.

After Alexander had reduced all Aſia on this ſide the Euphrates, he advanced towards Darius, who was coming down againſt him with a million of men. In his march a very ridiculous accident happened. The ſervants who followed the camp, in ſport divided themſelves into two parties, and named the commander of one of them Alexander, and of the other Darius. At firſt they only pelted one another with clods of earth, afterwards they fell to fiſty-cuffs, and at laſt growing warm in the contention, they fought

rus, as well on account of the excellent qualities of that Prince, as becauſe he was looked upon as the founder of that empire, which he had ſo vaſtly enlarged by his conqueſts, for which reaſon Horace ſays,

Redditum Cyri ſolio Phraatem.

(5) In

fought in good earneſt with ſtones and clubs, and could not eaſily be parted, till Alexander (who had been informed of the diſpute) ordered the two captains to decide the quarrel by ſingle combat, and armed him who bore his name himſelf, while Philotas did the ſame to the other who repreſented Darius. The whole army were ſpectators of this encounter, with minds prepared from the event to make a judgment of their own future ſucceſs. After the combatants had fought reſolutely for ſome time, he who was called Alexander had the better, and for a reward of his proweſs had twelve villages given him, with leave to clothe himſelf after the Perſian mode. Of this incident we are informed by Eratoſthenes.

The great battle that was fought with Darius, was not, as moſt writers tell us, at Arbela, but at (5) Gaugamela, which in their language ſignifies the "Ca-"mel's Houſe; for one of their ancient kings, having eſcaped the purſuit of his enemies on a dromedary, in gratitude to the beaſt, ſettled him at this place, with an allowance of certain villages and rents for his maintenance. In the month Boëdromion, [September] about the beginning of the feſtival of the myſteries at Athens, there happened an eclipſe of the moon; and the eleventh night after that, the two armies being then

(5) In the plains of Aturia near Arbela is the village of Gaugamela, where Darius loſt his empire. Gaugamela properly ſignifies the Camel's Houſe, and was ſo called by Darius the ſon of Hyſtaſpes, when he aſſigned it over as a maintenance for the camel who had ſuffered much with him in croſſing the deſart of Scythia. But the Macedonians obſerving it to be a poor inſignificant place, and that a conſiderable town ſtood near it called Arbela from Arbelus the ſon of Athmonæus, who was the founder of it, they choſe rather to diſtinguiſh the battle and victory by that name. Strab. lib. xv.

(6) Thus it ought to be read, Φόβῳ to Fear, and not Φοίβῳ to Apollo, or the Sun. Alexander ſacrificed thus to Fear, that ſhe might prevent his troops from being terrified at the ſight of ſuch a formidable army, conſiſting of eight hundred thouſand foot and two hundred thouſand horſe; for which reaſon Plutarch ſays he performed "certain ſecret "ceremonies.

then in view of one another, Darius kept his men in arms, and by torch-light took a general review of them. But Alexander, while his ſoldiers ſlept, ſpent the night before his tent with his ſoothſayer Ariſtander, performing certain ſecret ceremonies, and ſacrificing to (6) Fear. In the mean while the eldeſt of his commanders, and chiefly Parmenio, when they beheld all the plain between the river Niphates, and the Gordyæan mountains, ſhining with the lights and fires which were made by the barbarians, and heard the rude and confuſed voices out of their camp, the terror and noiſe of which reſembled the roaring of a vaſt ocean, they were ſo amazed at the thoughts of ſuch a multitude, that after ſome conference among themſelves, they concluded it an enterprize too difficult and hazardous for them to engage ſo numerous an enemy in the day-time; and therefore meeting the King as he came from ſacrificing, they beſought him to attack Darius by night, that the darkneſs might conceal the horror and danger of the enſuing battle. To this he gave them that celebrated anſwer, "That he "would not ſteal a victory;" which though ſome may think childiſh and vain, as if he played with danger, yet (7) others look upon it as an evidence that he confided in his preſent condition, and made a true judgment of the future, in not leaving Darius, in caſe

"ceremonies." Fear was not without her altars; Theſeus himſelf ſacrificed to her, as we have ſeen in his life. Vol. I. p. 96. And Plutarch tells us in the life of Agis and Cleomenes that a chapel was built to Fear at Sparta, and that the Lacedæmonians honoured her not as one of thoſe Dæmons that are abhorred, and deteſted, nor as an evil pernicious Being; but on the contrary they were perſuaded that Fear was the bond of all good governments, that where there is fear there likewiſe is modeſty, and that valour proceeds from the fear of ſhame and reproach. From hence we may gather the reaſons, which induced the moſt valiant to ſacrifice to Fear.

(7) They judged rightly, and the reflection with which they backed their judgment was very true. Alexander's anſwer on this occaſion is not only a great token of his confidence and magnamity, but of his foreſight and penetration.

(8) Hero-

caſe he were worſted, ſo much as a pretence of trying his fortune any more; which he would certainly do, if he could impute his overthrow to the diſadvantage of the night, as he did before to the mountains, the narrow paſſages, and the ſea. For it was not to be imagined, that he, who had ſtill ſuch forces and large dominions left, ſhould give over the war for want of men or arms, till he had firſt loſt all courage and hope, by the conviction of an undeniable and manifeſt defeat. After they were gone, he laid himſelf down in his tent, and ſlept the reſt of the night more ſoundly than uſual, to the aſtoniſhment of the commanders, who came to him early in the morning, and were obliged themſelves to give order that the ſoldiers ſhould take a repaſt. But at laſt, there not being time to wait any longer, Parmenio went to his bedſide, and called him twice or thrice by his name till he awaked him, and then aſked him, "How it was poſſible, when he "was to fight the moſt important battle of all, he "could ſleep ſo ſecurely, as if he were already victori-"ous." "So I am," ſaid Alexander, ſmiling, "ſince I am "now no more put to the trouble of wandering about "in purſuit of Darius, as long as he pleaſes to decline "fighting, in a country of ſo large extent, and ſo "waſted." And not only before the engagement, but likewiſe in the extremeſt danger of it, he ſhowed the greatneſs of his courage, and the ſolidity of his judgment. For the left wing which Parmenio commanded was ſo violently charged by the Bactrian horſe, that it was diſordered and forced to give ground, at the ſame time that Mazæus had ſent a party round about to fall upon thoſe who guarded the baggage, both which ſo terrified Parmenio, that he ſent meſſengers to acquaint Alexander, that the camp and baggage would be all loſt, unleſs he immediately relieved the rear, by a conſiderable reinforcement drawn out of the front. This meſſage being brought him juſt as he had given the ſignal to the right wing to charge, he bad the meſſengers tell Parmenio, "That he was certainly mad,

"and

" and that the conſternation he was in had made him " forget, that if they conquered they would be maſters " of their enemies baggage; and that if they were de- " feated, inſtead of taking care of their wealth or " ſlaves, they had nothing more to do, but to fight " bravely and die with honour." When he had ſaid this, he put on his helmet, having put on the reſt of his armour before he came out of his tent, a ſhort coat of the Sicilian faſhion, girt cloſe about him, and over that a breaſtplate of linnen ſtrongly quilted, which was taken among other booty at the battle of Iſſus. The helmet which was made by Theophilus, though of iron, was ſo well wrought and poliſhed, that it was as bright as the fineſt ſilver. To this was fitted a gorget of the ſame metal, ſet with precious ſtones. His ſword, which was the weapon he generally uſed in battle, was given him by the King of the Citieans, and was of an admirable temper and lightneſs. But the belt which he wore alſo in all engagements, was of much richer workmanſhip than all the reſt of his armour; it was made by old Helicon, and preſented him by the Rhodians as a mark of their reſpect to him. Whenever he drew up his men, or rode about to give orders, or to inſtruct or review them, he favoured Bucephalus by reaſon of his age, and made uſe of another horſe; but when he was to fight, he ſent for him, and as ſoon as he was mounted the ſignal to begin the fight was immediately given. After he had made a long oration to the Theſſalians, and the reſt of the Grecians, who encouraged him with loud ſhouts, deſiring to be led on to the charge, he ſhifted his javelin into his left hand, and with his right lifted up towards heaven, beſought the Gods (as Caliſthenes writes) " that if he " was indeed the ſon of Jupiter, they would be pleaſed " to aſſiſt and ſtrengthen the Grecians." At the ſame time Ariſtander the diviner, who had a white mantle about him, and a crown of gold on his head, rode by and ſhowed them an eagle flying over the head of Alexander, and directing his courſe towards the enemy. This

ſo

ſo animated the beholders, that after mutual encouragements and exhortations, the horſe charged at full ſpeed, and the Phalanx ruſhed on like a torrent. But before they could well come to blows with the firſt ranks, the barbarians ſhrunk back, and were cloſely purſued by Alexander, who drove them before him into the middle of the battle, where Darius himſelf was in perſon, whom he ſaw over the foremoſt ranks, conſpicuous in the midſt of his lifeguard; for he was a tall and comely man, and drawn in a lofty chariot, defended by a great number of the beſt of his cavalry, who ſtood cloſe in order about it, ready to receive the enemy. But Alexander's approach was ſo terrible, forcing thoſe who gave back upon ſuch as ſtill maintained their ground, that they were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation, and ſoon put to flight. A few of the braveſt and moſt reſolute among them maintained their poſt, till they were all ſlain in their King's preſence, and falling in heaps upon one another ſtrove in the very pangs of death to ſtop the purſuit, by clinging to the Macedonians as they fell, and catching hold of and intangling the feet of the horſes when they were fallen. Darius had now nothing but terror and deſtruction before his eyes. Thoſe who had placed themſelves in the front, to defend him, were broken, and forced back upon him. The wheels of his chariot were clogged, and entangled with the dead bodies, which lay in ſuch heaps about them, that they not only ſtopped, but almoſt covered the horſes, who began to fret and bound, and at laſt grew ſo unruly, that the charioteer could govern them no longer. In this extremity he was glad to quit his chariot and his arms, and mounting, as they ſay, upon a mare that had newly foaled, betook himſelf to flight. But he would not even then have eſcaped if Parmenio had not ſent freſh meſſengers to Alexander, to

(8) Herodotus has given us a ſuccinct account of this piece of hiſtory, lib. viii. 47. "Of all "thoſe who dwelt on the other "ſide, the Crotoniates were the "only people who came to the "ſuccour

to desire him to return, and assist him against a considerable body of the enemy which yet stood together, and would not give ground. Indeed Parmenio was on all hands accused of sloth and inactivity; whether age had impaired his courage, or whether as Callisthenes says, he envied and repined at his master's growing greatness. Alexander, though he was not a little vexed to be so recalled, and hindered from pursuing his victory, yet concealed the true reason from his men; and causing a retreat to be sounded, as if it were too late to continue the slaughter any longer, he marched back towards the place of danger, and by the way was informed that the enemies were totally routed and put to flight.

This battle being thus ended, seemed to put a period to the Persian empire; and Alexander, who was now proclaimed King of Asia, returned thanks to the Gods in magnificent sacrifices, and rewarded his friends and followers with money, houses, and governments of provinces. To ingratiate himself with the Grecians, he wrote to them, that he would have all tyrannies abolished, that they might govern themselves by their own laws; and he in particular told the Platæans, that their city should be rebuilt, because their ancestors permitted the Grecians to make their territories the seat of the war, when they fought with the barbarians for their common liberty. He sent also part of the spoils into Italy, to the Crotoniates, (8) to honour the zeal and courage of their citizen Phaylus the wrestler, who in the Median war, when the other Grecian colonies in Italy gave Greece for lost, and refused to assist her, that he might have a share in the danger, joined the fleet at Salamin with a vessel equipped at his own charge. Such a regard had Alexander to every kind of virtue, and so desirous was he to preserve the memory of laudable actions.

From

" succour of Greece on board a " ship commanded by Phaylus, " who had been three times " crowned in the Pythian games "

(9) There

From hence he marched through the province of Babylon, which without reſiſtance entirely ſubmitted to him. In the country about Ecbatane he was much ſurprized to ſee fire continually burſting like a ſpring out of a cleft of the earth; and not far from that a ſtream of Naphtha, ſo copious as to ſpread into a large lake. This Naphtha, in other reſpects reſembling Bitumen, is ſo inflamable that before it touches the flame it will take fire at the very light of it, and often kindle the intermediate air. The barbarians, to ſhow the power and nature of it, ſprinkled the ſtreet that led to the King's lodgings with little drops of this liquor, and when it was almoſt night ſtood at the further end with torches, which they applied to the moiſtened places; and theſe firſt taking fire, in a moment it caught from one end to another, in ſuch a manner, that the whole ſtreet was one continued flame. Alexander had at that time in his ſervice a certain Athenian named Athenophanes. He was one of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it was to wait on the King, and anoint him when he bathed, and had a peculiar art of diverting him, and relaxing his mind after he had been employed in ſerious affairs. One day whilſt the King was bathing there came into the room a boy called Stephanus, who was very homely, but an excellent ſinger. Athenophanes ſeeing him, ſaid to the King, "Sir, permit us to make an experiment of the Naph-"tha upon this youth: for if it takes fire upon his bo-"dy, I ſhall allow it to be powerful indeed." The youth readily conſented to undergo the trial; but as ſoon as he was anointed with it, his whole body broke out into ſuch a flame, that Alexander was exceedingly perplexed and concerned for him; and nothing could have prevented his being conſumed by it, if there had not been people at hand with a great many veſſels of water for the ſervice of the bath, with all which they were hardly able to extinguiſh the fire; and

(9) There is ſomething wanting in the original in this place.

(1) Quintus

and his body was so scorched with it that he long felt the bad effects of it. Those therefore who endeavour to reconcile the fable with truth, say with great probability that this was the drug mentioned by the poets, with which Medea anointed the crown and veil which she gave to Creon's daughter. For the things could not take fire of themselves, but upon the approach of some flame imperceptibly attracted and caught it. For the rays and emanations of fire at a distance, have no other effect upon some bodies, than merely to give them light and heat; but in others which are dry and porus, or in which there is an oily moisture, they collect themselves, and soon prey upon and alter the matter. The generation, or production of this Naphtha is a point that has not yet been agreed upon, it being a question (9) whether it does not rather derive its inflammable quality from the unctuous and sulphureous nature of the soil which produces it. For the ground in the province of Babylon is so very hot, that oftentimes the grains of barley leap up, and are thrown out, as if the violent inflammation had given a pulsation to the earth. And in extreme heats the inhabitants commonly sleep upon skins filled with water. Harpalus, who was left Governor of this country, and was desirous to adorn the palace, gardens, and walks, with Grecian plants, succeeded in the raising of all but ivy, which the earth would not bear, but constantly killed: for being a plant that loves a cold soil, the temper of that mold, which was violently hot, was improper for it. Such digressions as these the nicest readers may endure, provided they are not too tedious.

At the taking of Susa, Alexander found in the palace (1) forty thousand talents in money ready coined, besides an unspeakable quantity of other treasure and furniture; amongst which was five thousand talents worth of Hermionick purple, that had been laid up there

(1) Quintus Curtius says fifty thousand.

there an hundred and ninety years, and yet kept its colour as freſh and lively as at firſt. The reaſon of which, they ſay, is, that they uſed honey in dying the purple, and white oil in the white tincture; and we are told that ſome of this is to be ſeen of the ſame age which ſtill preſerves its original beauty and luſtre. Dinon alſo relates, that among other things it was a cuſtom with the kings of Perſia to have water brought them from the Nile and the Danube, and laid up in the treaſury, as a proof of their extenſive power and univerſal empire.

The entrance into Perſia being very difficult, by reaſon of the unevenneſs of the ways, and becauſe Darius, who was retired thither, had ordered the paſſes to be guarded by the beſt of his forces, Alexander met with ſuch a guide as the Pythian prieſteſs had propheſied of when he was a child, ſaying, "That "a Lycian ſhould conduct him in his journey into Per- "ſia;" for by ſuch an one, whoſe father was a Lycian, and his mother a Perſian, and who ſpoke both languages, he was led into the country by a way ſomething about, yet without fetching any conſiderable compaſs. Here a great many of the priſoners were put to the ſword; of which he himſelf gives this account, that he commanded them to be killed, becauſe he thought it would be advantageous to his affairs. Nor was his booty in money leſs here than at Suſa; beſides which he found in other moveables and treaſure, as much as ten thouſand pair of mules and five thouſand (2) camels could well carry away.

In the palace Alexander ſaw a large ſtatue of Xerxes, which the ſoldiers, as they were preſſing in, had thrown on the ground. At the ſight of it he ſtood ſtill, and addreſſing himſelf to it as if it was alive, "Tell me," ſaid he, "ſhall I paſs on, and leave thee proſtrate as thou "art on the ground, becauſe thou invadeſt Greece, or "ſhall I erect thee again in conſideration of the great- "neſs

(2) Diodorus ſays three thouſand.

(3) He

" neſs of thy mind and thy other virtues?" At laſt, after he had pauſed a conſiderable time, he went on, without taking any further notice of it. In this place he took up his winter-quarters, and ſtaid four months to refreſh his ſoldiers. It is ſaid, that the firſt time he ſat on the royal throne of Perſia, under a canopy of gold, Demaratus the Corinthian, who had a great affection for Alexander, and had been one of his father's friends, wept, like an old man, and " deplored the misfortune " of thoſe Grecians who had fallen in the wars and been " deprived by death of the ſatisfaction of ſeeing Alex- " ander placed on the throne of Darius."

Before he ſet out from hence to march againſt Darius, he gave an entertainment to his friends, where he indulged in drinking and mirth, and even ſuffered every one's miſtreſs to ſhare in the entertainment. The moſt celebrated of them was Thais an Athenian, miſtreſs to Ptolemy who was afterwards King of Egypt. She ſometimes cunningly praiſed Alexander, and ſometimes jeſted with him, and all the while drank ſo freely, that at laſt ſhe began to talk extravagantly, and ſaid things which, though ſuitable to the country where ſhe was born, were much above her character and condition. She ſaid " ſhe was abundantly rewarded for the " pains ſhe had taken in travelling all over Aſia, ſince that " day ſhe could inſult over the ſtately palace of the Perſian " monarchs:" but ſhe added, " it would pleaſe her much " better, if while the King looked on, ſhe might in " ſport, with her own hands, ſet fire to Xerxes's court, " who reduced the city of Athens to aſhes; that it might " be recorded to poſterity, that the women who followed " Alexander had taken a ſharper revenge on the Perſians, " for the ſufferings and affronts of Greece, than all her " commanders had done in their ſeveral engagements " by ſea and land." What ſhe ſaid was received with ſuch univerſal approbation and loud applauſe, and ſo ſeconded by the zeal and eagerneſs of the company, that the King himſelf, being prevailed upon, ſtarted from his ſeat, and with a chaplet of flowers on his head, and

a lighted torch in his hand, led the way, while they following in a riotous manner with dancing and ſhouting, ſurrounded the palace. When the reſt of the Macedonians perceived what they were about, they alſo joyfully ran thither with their torches; for they hoped the burning and deſtruction of the royal palace was an argument that he looked homeward and had no deſign to reſide among the barbarians. Thus ſome writers relate this action; others ſay it was done deliberately; however, all agree that he ſoon repented of it and gave orders to have the fire extinguiſhed.

Alexander was naturally very munificent, and grew more ſo as his fortune increaſed; and his liberality was accompanied with that courteſy and kindneſs which is abſolutely neceſſary to make a benefit really obliging. I will mention a few inſtances of this kind. Ariſto, the Captain of the Pæonians, having killed an enemy, brought his head to him, and told him, "That "among them ſuch a preſent was recompenced with a "cup of gold." "With an empty one," ſaid Alexander ſmiling, "but I drink to you in this full of wine, and "give it you." Another time, as one of the common ſoldiers was driving a mule laden with ſome of the King's treaſure, the beaſt tired, ſo that he was forced to take it on his own back, and with much ado marched with it a good way, till Alexander ſeeing him ſo overcharged, aſked what was the matter; and when he was informed, juſt as the man was ready to lay down his burden for wearineſs, "Do not faint now," ſaid he to him, "but keep on the reſt of thy way, and carry what thou "haſt on thy back to thy own tent for thy own uſe." He was always more diſpleaſed with thoſe who would not accept of his preſents, than with thoſe who begged them of him. And therefore he wrote to Phocion, "That he "would not look upon him his friend any longer, if "he

(3) He means fifty young gentlemen brought to him by Amyntas. They were the ſons of the greateſt men in Macedonia. Their office was to wait on him at table, lead his horſes to

" he refuſed to accept of what he had ſent him." Nor would he ever give any thing to Serapion, one of the youths that uſed to play at ball with him, becauſe he did not aſk of him; till one day as they were playing Serapion continually threw the ball to others, and when the King aſked him, " Why he did not direct it to " him?" He anſwered, " Becauſe you did not aſk it;" the King laughed at the reply, and was very liberal to him afterwards. One Proteas, a pleaſant facetious man and a good table-companion, having incurred his diſpleaſure, deſired his friends to intercede for him, and begged pardon himſelf with tears, upon which Alexander declared he was reconciled to him. " I cannot believe it, Sir," ſaid Proteas, " unleſs you " firſt give me ſome pledge of your reconciliation." The King preſently ordered him five talents. How generous he was in enriching his friends, and thoſe who attended on his perſon (3), appears by a letter which Olympias wrote to him, where ſhe ſays, " I do not blame you for " rewarding your friends and diſplaying your munifi- " cence; but you make them all equal to kings, you " give them power and opportunity to improve their own " intereſt, and make many friends, and in the mean time " do not conſider, that you leave yourſelf bare and deſ- " titute." She often wrote to him to this purpoſe, and he never communicated her letters to any body, unleſs it were one which he opened when Hephæſtion was by, whom he permitted to read it along with him; but then, as ſoon as he had done, he took off his ring, and put the ſeal upon Hephæſtion's lips, thereby recommending ſecrecy to him. Mazeus, who was the moſt conſiderable man in Darius's court, had a ſon who was already governor of a province; Alexander offered to join another to it, which was more profitable, but he modeſtly refuſed it, and withal told him, " that inſtead of one Darius, he would " make many Alexanders. To Parmenio he gave Ba- goas's

to him when he went to fight, and keep guard day and night attend him when he hunted, at his chamber door.

goas's houſe, in which he found a ward-robe of apparel worth more than a thouſand talents. He wrote to Antipater, commanding him to keep a lifeguard about him, for the ſecurity of his perſon againſt conſpiracies. To his mother he ſent many preſents, but would never ſuffer her to meddle with affairs of ſtate or war; and when ſhe was diſpleaſed with him upon this account, he bore her ill humour very patiently. And once, when he had read a long letter from Antipater, full of accuſations againſt her, he ſaid, "Antipater ſeems not to know that one tear "of a mother effaces a thouſand ſuch letters as theſe."

But when he perceived his favourites grow ſo luxurious and extravagant in their way of living, that Agnon the Teian wore ſilver nails in his ſhoes; that Leonatus employed ſeveral camels only to bring him powder out of Egypt to uſe when he wreſtled; and that Philotas had toils to take wild beaſts, that reached an hundred furlongs in length; that more uſed precious ointments than plain oil when they went to bathe, and that they had ſervants every where with them, to rub them and wait upon them in their chambers; he reproved them like a philoſopher with great mildneſs and diſcretion, telling them, "he wondered that they who "had been engaged in ſo many ſignal battles, ſhould "not know by experience, that labour and induſtry "made people ſleep more ſweetly and ſoundly than "lazineſs; and that if they compared the Perſian manner of living with their own, they would be convinced it was the moſt abject, ſlaviſh condition in the "world to be effeminate and voluptuous, and that nothing was more noble and princely than labour." He aſked them beſides, "How it was poſſible for any one "either to take care of his horſe, or to keep his armour "bright and in good order, who thought much to let his "hands be ſerviceable to what was deareſt to him, his "own body. Are you ſtill to learn," "ſaid he, "that the "end and perfection of our victories is to avoid the vices and

(4) The Ichneumon is a ſmall animal, very common in Egypt. It is remarkable for its mortal enmity to the Aſpic and Crocodile,

" and infirmities of thoſe whom we have ſubdued?" And to ſtrengthen his precepts by example, he expoſed himſelf now more than ever to the fatigues of hunting and war, readily embracing all opportunities of hardſhip and danger; inſomuch that a Spartan ambaſſador, who one day chanced to be by when he encountered and maſtered a huge lion, ſaid, "Royalty, Sir, has been " the prize, and you have fought bravely for it with " the lion." Craterus dedicated in the temple of Apollo at Delphi a repreſentation of this adventure in braſs; the figures of which it conſiſted were the lion and the dogs, the King engaged with the lion, and himſelf coming in to his aſſiſtance; ſome of which were made by Lyſippus, and the reſt by Leochares. In this manner did Alexander expoſe his perſon to danger, both inuring himſelf, and inciting others to the performance of brave and virtuous actions.

But his followers, who were now become rich and proud, longed to indulge themſelves in pleaſure and idleneſs, and grew weary of marching from place to place, and of undergoing the toils of war; nay they by degrees proceeded ſo far as to cenſure and reproach him. This at firſt he bore very patiently, ſaying, " It " became a King to do well, and to be ill ſpoken of." And indeed his behaviour to his friends even on ſlight and common occaſions was a continual proof of real kindneſs and reſpect. Of this I ſhall mention a few inſtances. Hearing that Peuceſtas had been bitten by a bear, he wrote to him, " That he took it unkindly, that " he ſhould ſend others notice of it, and not make him ac- " quainted with it; but now," ſaid he, " ſince it is ſo, let " me know how you do, and whether any of your compa- " nions forſook you when you were in danger, that I may " puniſh them?" He ſent word to Hephæſtion, who was abſent about ſome buſineſs, " That while they were divert- " ing themſelves with hunting an (4) Ichneumon, Craterus " was by chance run through both thighs with Perdiccas's " javelin.

dile, and for the tricks it uſes to get the better of two ſuch dangerous enemies. When it has to deal with the Aſpic it rolls itſelf

"javelin." Upon Peuceſtas's recovery from a fit of ſickneſs, he ſent a letter of thanks to his phyſician Alexippus. When Craterus was ill he ſaw a viſion in his ſleep, after which he offered ſacrifices for his health, and commanded him to do ſo likewiſe. He wrote alſo to Pauſanias the phyſician, who was about to purge Craterus with hellebore, partly to expreſs his anxious concern for him, and partly to give him a caution how he uſed that medicine. He impriſoned Ephialtes and Ciſſus, who brought him the firſt news of Harpalus's flight, and deſertion from his ſervice, as if they had falſely accuſed him. When he ſent the old and infirm ſoldiers home, Eurylochus the Ægean got his name enrolled among the ſick, though he ailed nothing; which being diſcovered, he confeſſed he was in love with a woman named Teleſippa, and was deſirous to go along with her to the ſea-ſide. Alexander enquired, "To whom "the woman belonged?" and being told, "She was "a courtezan, but of liberal birth:" "I will aſſiſt you," ſaid he to Eurylochus, "all I can in your amour, if your "miſtreſs be to be gained either by preſents or perſua-"ſions; but we muſt uſe no other means, becauſe "ſhe is free-born." It is ſurpriſing to conſider, upon what ſlight occaſions he would write letters to ſerve his friends. As when he wrote one, in which he gave orders to ſearch for a youth that belonged to Seleucus, who was run away into Cilicia. In another, he thanked and commended Peuceſtas, for apprehending Nicon, a ſervant of Craterus. And to Megabyſus, concerning a ſlave that had taken ſanctuary in a temple, he wrote, that he ſhould not meddle with him while he was there, but if he could entice him out by fair means, then he gave him leave to ſeize him. It is reported

itſelf ſeveral times together in the mud, and at every turn dries the dirt that ſticks round it in the ſun; ſo that when it has armed itſelf with ſeveral cruſts, as with ſo many coats of mail, it attacks the Aſpic boldly, and flies at its throat. When it is to encounter the Crocodile, it watches the moment when a little bird called Trochylus enters into the mouth of that animal to cleanſe

reported of him, that when he first sat in judgment upon capital causes, he would lay his hand upon one of his ears, while the accuser spoke, to keep it free and unprejudiced in behalf of the party accused. But afterwards a multitude of accusations being brought before him, and many of them proving true, this exasperated him so much, that he gave credit to those also that were false; and especially when any one spoke ill of him, he would be so extravagantly transported, that he became cruel and inexorable; for he valued his glory and reputation far beyond either his life or kingdom.

He now marched in pursuit of Darius, expecting to hazard another battle. But hearing that he was taken, and secured by Bessus, he sent home the Thessalians, and gave them a largess of two thousand talents, over and above the pay that was due to them. This long and painful pursuit of Darius, (for in eleven days he marched three thousand three hundred furlongs) harrassed his soldiers so, that most of them were ready to faint, chiefly for want of water. While they were in this distress, it happened that some Macedonians, who had fetched water in skins upon their mules from a river they had found out, came about noon to the place where Alexander was, and seeing him almost choaked with thirst, presently filled an helmet, and offered it to him. He asked them to whom they were carrying the water; they told him, "to their "children; but," said they, "if your life is preserved it "is no matter for our children; if we lose them, we can "get more." Then he took the helmet into his hands, and looking round about, when he saw all those who were near him stretching their heads out, and earnestly eyeing

cleanse his jaws, and pick his teeth, feeding upon what he finds there; at which time the Crocodile, who is wonderfully pleased with the operation, falls asleep with his mouth wide open, and the ichneumon darts down his throat like an arrow, and gnaws his bowels. Plin. lib. 8. Cap. 24. 25.

(5) Quintus

ing the drink, he returned it again with thanks, without taſting a drop of it: "For, ſays he, if I only ſhould "drink, the reſt will be quite out of heart and faint." The ſoldiers no ſooner ſaw his temperance and magnanimity upon this occaſion, but they all cried out to him to lead them on boldly, and whipped their horſes to make them mend their pace; "for whilſt they had ſuch a "king," they ſaid, "they defied both wearineſs and "thirſt, and looked upon themſelves to be little leſs than "immortal." But though they were all equally chearful and willing, yet not above ſixty horſe were able to keep up, and fall in with Alexander upon the enemy's camp; where riding over abundance of gold and ſilver that lay ſcattered about, and paſſing by a great many chariots full of children and women, that wandered here and there for want of drivers, they endeavoured to overtake the firſt of thoſe that fled, in hopes to meet with Darius among them. At laſt with great difficulty they found him lying along in a chariot, all over wounded with darts, and juſt at the point of death. However, he deſired they would give him ſome drink; and when he had drank a little cold water, he ſaid to Polyſtratus who gave it him, "My friend, this com-"pleats my miſery, to receive a favour and not be "able to return it. But Alexander will reward thee; "and the gods will reward him for his kindneſs to my "mother, my wife and my children. Tell him there-"fore that in token of my acknowledgment I give him "this right hand:" at which words he took hold of Polyſtratus's hand, and immediately expired. When Alexander came up to them, he was ſenſibly touched at the unfortunate end of ſo great a man, and pulling off his own coat, threw it upon the body to cover it. As ſoon as Beſſus was taken, he ordered him to be torn in pieces in this manner. (5) They faſtened him to a couple of tall ſtrait trees, which were bent down ſo as to meet, and then

(5) Quintus Curtius tells us Alexender delivered the aſſaſſin up to Oxathres the brother of Darius, that when they had cut off

then being let loose, with a great force returned to their places, each of them carrying that part of the body along with it that was tied to it. Darius's body was sent to his mother with all the pomp suitable to his quality. Alexander received his brother Oxathres into the number of his most intimate friends.

And now with the flower of his army he marched down into Hyrcania, where he saw a gulph of the sea, not much less than the Euxine, and found its water sweeter than that of other seas; but he could learn nothing of certainty concerning it, only he conjectured that it might be produced by the overflowing of the lake Mæotis, or at least might have a communication with it. However the naturalists better informed of the truth, give us this account of it many years before Alexander's expedition; that of four gulphs which out of the main sea enter into the continent, this is the most northern, and is known by the name both of the Hyrcanian and Caspian sea. Here the barbarians unexpectedly meeting with those who led Bucephalus, took them prisoners, and carried the horse away with them; which Alexander was so offended at, that he sent an herald to let them know, he would put them all to the sword, men, women, and children, without mercy, if they did not restore him. Upon this they immediately obeyed, and at the same time surrendered their cities into his hands. He treated them all very kindly, and paid a considerable ransom for his horse to those who took him.

From hence he marched into Parthia, where not having much to do, he first put on the barbarick habit, which compliance perhaps he used in order to civilize the inhabitants; for nothing gains more upon men, than a conformity to their fashions and customs; or it may be he did it to try whether the Macedonians would be brought to adore him, (as the Persians did their

off his nose and ears, and fastened him to a cross, the barbarians might kill him with their darts and arrows.

(6) Here

their kings) by accuſtoming them by little and little to bear with the alteration of his diſcipline and courſe of life in other things. However he did not altogether follow the Median faſhion, which was barbarous and uncouth; for he wore neither their breeches, nor their long veſt, nor their tiara for the head; but taking a middle way between the Perſian mode and the Median, he ſo contrived his habit that it was not ſo ſtately as the one, and yet more magnificent than the other. At firſt he wore this habit only when he had buſineſs to tranſact with the barbarians, or within doors among his intimate friends and companions; but afterwards he appeared in it abroad, and at publick audiences. This was a very unpleaſing ſight to the Macedonians; but they were ſo charmed with his other virtues and good qualities, that they could not but think it reaſonable in ſome things to gratify his humour and indulge his vanity. For beſide his other adventures, he had lately been wounded in the leg by an arrow, which had ſo ſhattered the bone, that ſplinters were taken out. And another time he received ſuch a violent blow with a ſtone upon the nape of the neck, as dimmed his ſight for a good while afterwards. But all this could not hinder him from expoſing himſelf to the greateſt dangers, without any regard to his perſon; ſo that he paſſed the river Orexartes, which he took to be the Tanais, and putting the Scythians to flight, purſued them an hundred furlongs, though at the ſame time he had a violent flux upon him. Here many affirm, that

(6) Here the text is faulty in two places; it is ſaid Χάρης ὁ εἰσαλγειλεὺς, and Φίλιππος ὁ εἰσωλγειλεύς. Diodorus tells us that εἰσαλγειλεὺς was an officer in the Perſian court, whoſe buſineſs was to acquaint the Prince when any came to ſee or ſpeak to him, and to introduce them. But that cannot be what is meant here, for neither Chares nor Philip ever exerciſed that office. Holſtenius and Reineſius ſuppoſe that Plutarch wrote it Χάρης ὁ Θεαγγελεὺς, and Φίλιππος ὁ Θεαγγελεύς, that is, Chares of Theangela, and Philip of Theangela, which Theangela was a city in Caria. This correction ſeems the more juſtifiable, becauſe thoſe Plutarch names here, and among whom he has placed Chares

that the Amazonian Queen came to visit him: so Clitarchus, Polycritus, Onesicritus, Antigenes and Ister report. But Aristobulus, (6) Chares of Theangela, Ptolemy, Anticlides, Philo the Theban, Philip of Theangela, Hecatæus the Eretrian, Philip the Chalcidian, and Duris the Samian say, (7) it is wholly a fiction. And indeed Alexander himself seems to confirm their opinion; for in a letter in which he gives Antipater an exact account of every event, he tells him, that the King of Scythia offered him his daughter in marriage, but makes no mention at all of the Amazon. And many years after, when Onesicritus read this story in his fourth book to Lysimachus, who was then King, he with a smile asked, "Where was I at that time?" But as for this particular, they who believe it will not have a greater veneration for Alexander, and they who reject it will not esteem him the less.

Apprehending that the Macedonians, grown weary of the war, would not have the courage or patience to accompany him any further in his expedition, he left the gross of his army behind him in their quarters, and taking with him the choicest of his forces, to the number of twenty thousand foot, and three thousand horse, he marched with them into Hyrcania, where he told them, "That hitherto the barbarians had seen them only as "in a dream; and if they should think of returning "when they had only alarmed Asia, and not conquered "it, those barbarians would fall upon them, and destroy "them like so many women: that however he gave "to

Chares and Philip, are distinguished by their several countries, as Philo the Theban, Hecatæus of Eretria, and Duris of Samos; and it is not very likely that he would describe the other two by their employments. But that which puts it out of all doubt is, that Athenæus, lib. 6. p. 271. quotes this very Philip as belonging to that place. Φίλιππος ὁ Θεαγγελεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ Χαρῶν καὶ Αὐλίγων Συγγράμματος. "Philip of Theangela in his treatise of the Carians, &c."

(7) It is certain that this history of the Amazons is entirely fabulous, of which Strabo was very sensible. The reader may see the remarks upon the life of Theseus, Vol. I. p. 34, 36.

(8) Dio-

" to ſuch as deſired it liberty to return; but withal pro-
" teſted againſt every one who ſhould deſert him and his
" friends and thoſe who were willing to fight under him
" ſtill, while he was bringing the whole world into ſub-
" jection to the Macedonians." This is almoſt word for word the ſame with what he wrote in a letter to Antipater, where he adds, " That when he had thus ſpoken to
" them, they all cried out, they would go along with
" him, wherever it was his pleaſure to lead them."
When he had in this manner gained them, it was no hard matter for him to bring over the reſt of the army which readily followed their example. From this time he more and more endeavoured to accommodate himſelf in his way of living to the cuſtoms of the barbarians, which he likewiſe endeavoured to blend with the cuſtoms of the Macedonians, in hopes that this mixture and communication would produce a mutual friendſhip, by which his authority would be better maintained during his abſence, than it would be by mere force. In order to this he choſe out thirty thouſand boys, to whom he allowed maſters to teach them the Greek tongue, and to train them up to arms according to the Macedonian diſcipline. As for his marriage with Roxana, that was purely the effect of love. For having accidentally ſeen her at a feaſt, he was charmed with her beauty. Nor was his love in the leaſt prejudicial to his intereſt, conſidering the ſituation of his affairs at that time. For this alliance with the barbarians made them confide in him, and love him more than ever, when they ſaw how continent he was, and that he abſtained from the only woman he ever was in love with, till he could enjoy her in a lawful and honourable way.

When he perceived that of his two chief friends and favourites, Hephæſtion approved of the cuſtoms he had newly taken up, and imitated him in his habit, while Craterus continued ſtrict in the obſervation of the cuſtoms and faſhions of his own country, he employed the firſt in all tranſactions with the barbarians,

rians, and the latter when he had to do with the Greeks or Macedonians. And the truth is, he had a greater love for the one, and a higher eſteem for the other, being perſuaded, as he always ſaid, that Hephæſtion loved Alexander, and Craterus the King. This occaſioned a miſunderſtanding between them, ſo that they often quarrelled; and once in India they drew their ſwords, and were going to fight, with their friends on each ſide to ſecond them, till Alexander came up to them, and publickly reproached Hephæſtion, telling him he was a fool and madman, not to be ſenſible that without his favour he was nothing. He chid Craterus alſo in private very ſeverely, and then cauſing them both to come into his preſence, he reconciled them, at the ſame time ſwearing by Jupiter Ammon, and the reſt of the Gods, that he loved them above all other men; but that if ever he perceived them fall out again, he would put both of them to death, or at leaſt the aggreſſor. After which, they neither ever did, or ſaid any thing, ſo much as in jeſt, to offend one another.

None had more authority among the Macedonians than Philotas, the ſon of Parmenio: for beſides that he was valiant, and indefatigable in war, he was alſo, next to Alexander himſelf, the moſt munificent, and moſt kind to his friends; one of whom aſking him for ſome money, he commanded his ſteward to give it him; and when he told him, he had none, "Have you "no plate then," ſaid he, "or cloaths of mine?" But he was extremely proud and inſolent by reaſon of his wealth, and more delicate and expenſive about his perſon and diet than became a private man; and that air of dignity and grandeur which he aſſumed, far from being graceful and engaging, appeared aukward and extravagant, and expoſed him to general ſuſpicion and ill-will; ſo that Parmenio would ſometimes ſay to him, "My ſon, be leſs." He had for a conſiderable time before been complained of to Alexander: for when Darius was defeated in Cilicia, and an immenſe

menſe booty was taken at Damaſcus, among the reſt of the priſoners who were brought into the camp there was one Antigone of Pydna, a very handſome woman, who fell to Philotas's ſhare. The young man one day in his cups, like an arrogant bragging ſoldier, told his miſtreſs, "That all the great actions were performed "by him and his father, and that the ſtripling Alex-"ander enjoyed the title of King by their means." She diſcovered what ſhe had heard to one of her acquaintance, and he, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, to another, till at laſt it came to Craterus, who introduced her privately to the King. When Alexander had heard what ſhe had to ſay, he commanded her to continue her intrigue with Philotas, and to give him an account from time to time of what he ſaid. Philotas being thus inadvertently taken in the ſnare, ſometimes from reſentment, and ſometimes from vanity, uttered many indiſcreet expreſſions againſt the King in Antigone's hearing; of which though Alexander was informed, and convinced by ſtrong evidence, yet he took no notice of it at firſt; whether he confided in Parmenio's affection and loyalty, or whether he feared their authority and intereſt in the army. About this time one Limnus (8), a Macedonian, a native of Chælæſtra, conſpired againſt Alexander's life, and communicated his deſign to a youth whom he loved, named Nicomachus, inviting him to be of the confederacy. But he rejected the propoſal and revealed it to his brother Cebalinus, who immediately went to Philotas, requiring him (9) to introduce them both to Alexander, to whom they had ſomething of great moment to impart, and which very nearly concerned him. Philotas, for what reaſon is uncertain, refuſed to introduce them as they had deſired, pretending the King was taken up with affairs of more importance. And

(8) Diodorus and Quintus Curtius call him Dymnus.

(9) Quintus Curtius ſays that Cebalinus, went by himſelf to Philotas leſt, if his brother Nicomachus, who had often received that honour, ſhould be introduced to the King, the conſpirators

And when they had urged him a second time, and were still slighted by him, they applied to Metro; by whose means being admitted into Alexander's presence, they first laid open Limnus's conspiracy, and then as by the by represented Philotas's negligence, who had taken so little notice of their repeated solicitations. Alexander was extremely exasperated at this neglect in Philotas; but when he came to understand, that the person who had been sent to apprehend Limnus (1) had killed him, because he had put himself upon his defence, and chose rather to be slain than taken, he was still more concerned, for he conceived the death of that traitor had deprived him of the means of making a full discovery of the plot. As soon as his displeasure against Philotas began to appear, presently all his old enemies showed themselves, and said openly, "The King "was too easily imposed on, to imagine, that one so in-"considerable as Limnus the Chalæstrian, should of him-"self undertake such an enterprize; that he was but "subservient to the design, an instrument that was mov-"ed by some greater power; that those ought to be more "strictly examined about the conspiracy, whose interest "it so much was to conceal it." When the King began to listen to these discourses and suspicions, they loaded Philotas daily with innumerable accusations, so that at last he was seized, and put to the torture in the presence of the principal officers, Alexander himself being placed behind the tapestry, to hear what passed. When he heard in what a miserable tone, and with what abject submissions Philotas applied himself to Hephæstion, he cried out, "Couldst thou, Philotas, effeminate and "mean-spirited as thou art, couldst thou engage "in so bold and hazardous an enterprize?" After his death, he presently sent orders into Media, to put Parmenio to death, a man who had a great share in the

rators might have taken umbrage at it.

(1) Other authors say he killed himself. The guards carried him to Alexander's tent; but by that time he was speechless, and expired in a moment.

the exploits of Philip, and who was the only one, or at leaſt the chief, among his old friends and counſellors, who had encouraged Alexander to invade Aſia. Of three ſons whom he had in the army, he had already loſt two, and now was himſelf put to death with the third. Theſe actions rendered Alexander formidable to many of his friends, and chiefly to Antipater, who thereupon to ſtrengthen himſelf, ſent ambaſſadors privately to the Ætolians, to conclude an alliance with them; for they ſtood in fear of Alexander, becauſe they had deſtroyed the city of Oeniades; of which when he was informed, he ſaid, "The children of the Oe-"niades need not revenge their father's quarrel, for "he would himſelf take care to puniſh the Ætolians."

Not long after this happened the death of Clitus, which to thoſe who barely hear the fact, may ſeem a proof of greater inhumanity than that of Philotas. But if we reflect on the time, cauſes, and circumſtances of the action, we ſhall think that it was rather an unfortunate accident than a deliberate crime, and that the rage and drunkenneſs of Alexander only furniſhed an occaſion to the evil genius of Clitus to accompliſh his deſtruction. It happened in the following manner. The King had a preſent of Grecian fruit brought him from the ſea-coaſt, which was ſo very freſh and beautiful, that he was ſurprized at it, and ſent for Clitus to ſhow it him, and to give him a ſhare of it. Clitus was then ſacrificing, but he immediately left off and went to wait on the King, followed by three of the ſheep, on whom the drink-offering had been already poured, in order for the ſacrifice. Alexander being informed of this accident, conſulted his two diviners, Ariſtander and Cleomantis the Spartan. They aſſuring him that it was an ill omen, he commanded them in all haſte to offer ſacrifices for Clitus's ſafety, he himſelf having ſeen three days before a ſtrange viſion in his ſleep, of Clitus all in mourning, ſitting by Parmenio's ſons who were all dead. Clitus however ſtaid not to finiſh his ſacrifice, but came immediately to ſup with the King, who

the

the ſame day had ſacrificed to Caſtor and Pollux When they had drank pretty hard, one of the company began to ſing ſome verſes of one Pranichus, or as others ſay, of Pierion, which were made upon thoſe captains who had been lately worſted by the barbarians, on purpoſe to diſgrace and turn them to ridicule. This ſo offended the grave old men, that they condemned both the author and the ſinger of the verſes, though Alexander and his gay companions were mightily pleaſed to hear them, and encouraged the ſinger to proceed. At laſt Clitus, who had drank too much, and who was beſides of a froward obſtinate temper, was ſo provoked that he cried out, "It was not well done thus "to expoſe Macedonians before barbarians and ene-"mies, ſince though it was their unhappineſs to be "overcome, yet they were much better men than thoſe "who laughed at them." To this Alexander replied, "That ſure Clitus ſpoke ſo tenderly of cowardice and "called it misfortune only to excuſe himſelf:" at which Clitus ſtarting up, "This cowardice, as you are "pleaſed to term it," ſaid he to him, "ſaved your life, "though you pretend to be ſprung from the Gods, when "you were running away from Spithridates's ſword; "and it is by the expence of Macedonian blood, and by "theſe wounds, that you are now raiſed to ſuch an "height, as to deſpiſe and diſown your father Philip, "and adopt yourſelf the ſon of Jupiter Ammon." "Thou "villain," ſaid Alexander, who was now thoroughly exaſperated, "doſt thou think to utter theſe things every "where of me, and ſtir up the Macedonians to ſedition, "and not be puniſhed for it?" "We are ſufficiently puniſhed "already," anſwered Clitus, "if this be the recompence "of our toils, and eſteem thoſe happieſt, who have not "lived to ſee their countrymen ignominiouſly ſcourged "with Median rods, and forced to ſue to the Perſians "to have acceſs to their King." While Clitus talked thus raſhly, and the King in the bittereſt manner retorted upon him, the old men that were in the company endeavoured all they could to allay the flame.

Alexander then turning to Xenodochus the Cardian, and Artemius the Colophonian, aſked them, "If they "were not of opinion, that the reſt of the Grecians be- "haved among the Macedonians, like ſo many Demi- "Gods among ſavages?" All this would not ſilence Clitus, who calling aloud to Alexander bid him "if he had "any thing to ſay to ſpeak out; elſe why did he invite "men who were free-born, and uſed to ſpeak their minds "openly without reſtraint, to ſup with him, and not ra- "ther live and converſe with barbarians, and conquered "ſlaves, who would not ſcruple to adore his Perſian "girdle, and white tunick." Alexander not being able to ſuppreſs his anger any longer, took one of the apples that lay upon the table and flung it at him, and then looked about for his ſword. But Ariſtophanes (2), one of his lifeguard, had hid that out of the way, and others came about him, and beſought him to reſtrain his fury, but in vain; for breaking from them, he called out aloud to his guards in the Macedonian language, (which was a ſignal of ſome great tumult) and commanded the trumpeter to ſound, giving him a blow with his fiſt for delaying, or rather refuſing to obey him; though afterwards the ſame man was commended for diſobeying an order, which would have put the whole army into confuſion. Clitus continued ſtill in the ſame quarrelſome humour, till his friends with much ado forced him out of the room; but he came in again immediately at another door, and inſolently ſung this paſſage out of Euripides's Andromache.

Gods! what ill cuſtoms are receiv'd in Greece? (3)

Then

(2) Quintus Curtius and Arrian call him Ariſtonus.

(3) This is a ſpeech of Peleus to Menelaus, ver. 639, &c. Plutarch mentions only the firſt line, becauſe in thoſe days Euripides's works were ſo generally known and remembered, and if one verſe only in a ſpeech was repeated, every one knew what followed. The whole paſſage is a complaint againſt the injuſtice of aſcribing all the glory of a victory to the General, and defrauding the ſoldiers who aſſiſted him in obtaining it of that ſhare of

Then Alexander ſnatching a ſpear from one of the ſoldiers, met Clitus as he was putting by the curtain that hung before the door, and ran him through the body. He fell immediately, and after a few loud groans expired. In that very inſtant the king's indignation cooled, and he came perfectly to himſelf; but when he ſaw his friends about him all in a profound ſilence, as ſeized with horror at the fact, he pulled the ſpear out of the dead body, and would have turned it againſt himſelf, if the guards had not held his hands, and by force carried him away into his chamber.

He ſpent all that night and the day following in the bittereſt grief, till being quite waſted with weeping and lamenting, he threw himſelf on the floor, where he lay ſpeechleſs; only now and then a deep ſigh broke from him. His friends apprehending ſome dangerous conſequence of this ſilence, forcibly entered the room; but he took no notice of what any of them ſaid to him to comfort him, till Ariſtander put him in mind of the viſion he had ſeen concerning Clitus, and the prodigy that followed, which ſhowed that the event was predetermined by fate. At this he ſeemed to moderate his grief. Then they brought to him Calliſthenes the philoſopher, who was nearly related to Ariſtotle, and Anaxarchus of Abdera. (4) Calliſthenes gently ſoothed him, and combated his ſorrow with tenderneſs and caution, endeavouring to cure the diſtemper without putting the patient to pain. But Anaxarchus, (5) who was always ſingular in his method of philoſophy, and was thought to ſlight all his companions, as ſoon as he came in cried out aloud,

of the honour which is their due.

(4) He was of the city of Olynthus, and had been recommended by Ariſtotle to Alexander. He was not only very learned, but a perſon of unſhaken probity, and a zealous lover of liberty, which made him of a humour not very complaiſant, or proper for a court.

(5) It appeared by his diſcourſe to Alexander that he neither followed Pythagoras, Socrates nor Ariſtotle. It is ſaid that he was ſcholar to one Diomenes of Smyrna,

aloud, "Is this Alexander whom the world looks upon "with such admiration? Behold him extended on the "ground, and weeping like an abject slave for fear of "the laws and censures of men, to whom he himself "ought to be a law, and the measure of equity; since "he conquered for no other end but to make himself "Lord of all, and not to be a slave to a vain idle opinion. "Do not you know," continued he, addressing himself to Alexander, "that Jupiter is represented sitting on his "throne with Themis on one side, and Justice on the "other, intimating thereby that let a sovereign prince do "what he will all his actions are just and lawful?" With these and the like arguments Anaxarchus indeed allayed the king's grief, but withal corrupted his manners, rendering him more dissolute and violent than he was before. Nor did he fail by these means to insinuate himself into his favour, and to make Callisthenes's conversation, which otherwise, because of his austerity, was not very pleasing, extremely uneasy and disagreeable to him.

It is said that these two philosophers being at an entertainment, where the company discoursed of the seasons of the year, and the temperature of the air, Callisthenes joined with their opinion, who held that the cold was more severe in those countries than in Greece; this Anaxarchus would by no means allow, but maintained the contrary with great obstinacy. "Sure," said Callisthenes to him, "you must confess this country to be colder "than Greece, for there you had but one threadbare "cloak to keep out the coldest winter, and here you "cannot so much as sit at table without three good warm "mantles one over another." This piece of raillery exceedingly

na, or Metrodorus, philosophers little known. Others say he studied under Democritus; and indeed it is plain his sentiments were much the same with those of that philosopher, who held that laws were only human inventions.

(6) He was of Olynthus, which city had been destroyed by Philip. Whether Callisthenes obtained his request of Alexander, is uncertain; but the city was rebuilt, and in Cicero's time was very flourishing, as appears by his third oration against Verres.

(7) This is a verse in Euripides,

ceedingly exaſperated Anaxarchus. But Calliſthenes was likewiſe hated by the other ſophiſts and flatterers, who could not endure to ſee him ſo beloved and followed by the youth for the ſake of his eloquence, and no leſs eſteemed by the old men for his virtuous life, his modeſty, gravity, and contented diſpoſition; all which confirmed the account he gave of his deſign in following Alexander, that it was only to get his countrymen recalled from baniſhment, and to rebuild and repeople his native city (6). Beſide the envy which his great reputation raiſed, he alſo by his own deportment expoſed himſelf to the cenſures of his enemies. For when he was invited to entertainments he would refuſe to come, or if he came, by his moroſeneſs and ſilence he ſeemed to ſhow a diſapprobation of every thing that was ſaid or done; which made Alexander ſay of him (7),

The ſophiſt's wiſdom I deſpiſe
Who for himſelf is never wiſe.

Being with many more invited to ſup with the king, he was commanded to make an oration, while they were drinking, in praiſe of the Macedonians; and he did it with ſuch eloquence, that all who heard it exceedingly applauded him, and threw their garlands upon him; only Alexander told him in the words of Euripides,

On noble themes 'tis eaſy to excel,

"There-

pides, by repeating of which Alexander gave him to underſtand that his ill humour would one day be fatal to him; and it is no more than Ariſtotle himſelf had foretold him; for obſerving once with what freedom, or rather inſolence, he treated the king, he applied to him the following verſe out of Homer, ſpoken by Thetis to Achilles:

Ὠκύμορος δή μοι, τέκος, ἔσσεαι οἷ ἀγορεύεις. Il. xviii. 95.

Short date of life, my ſon, ſuch words forebode.

"Therefore," ſaid he, "if you will ſhow the force o "your eloquence, tell my Macedonians their faults, that "by hearing them they may learn to be better for the future." Calliſthenes preſently obeyed him, and retracting all he had ſaid before, inveighed againſt the Macedonians with great freedom, adding, "That Philip "thrived, and grew powerful, chiefly by the diſcord of the Grecians;" applying theſe verſes to him,

Where-ever diſcord and ſedition reign,
The worſt of men the greateſt honour gain.

Which ſo diſobliged the Macedonians, that he was odious to them ever after. And Alexander ſaid, "That Cal- "liſthenes had not on that occaſion ſo much ſhown his "eloquence, as his malignity and ill-will to the Mace- "donians." Hermippus aſſures us, that one Stroïbus, a ſervant whom Calliſthenes kept to read to him, told theſe things afterwards to Ariſtotle. He adds, that when Calliſthenes perceived the king grow more and more averſe to him, he repeated this verſe of Homer two or three times to him, as he was going away:

Patroclus, *far thy better, is no more.* (8)

Not without reaſon therefore did Ariſtotle give this character of Calliſthenes, "That he was indeed an ex- "cellent orator, but had no judgment" For though he acted bravely and becoming a philoſopher in refuſing to worſhip the king, and in declaring publickly againſt that which the beſt and graveſt of the Macedonians only repined at in ſecret, by which he put a ſtop to their baſe adoration, and delivered the Grecians from great infamy, and Alexander himſelf from ſtill greater; yet he ruined himſelf by it, becauſe he proceeded with too much roughneſs, as if he would have forced the

(8) This is ſpoken by Achilles to Lycaon in the twenty-firſt book of the Iliad.

(9) He turned that way becauſe

the King to that which he ſhould have effected by reaſon and perſuaſion. Chares of Mitylene writes, that at a banquet, Alexander after he had drank reached the cup to one of his friends, who receiving it, roſe up, and turning towards (1) the hearth, where ſtood the altar ſacred to the domeſtick Deities, he drank, proſtrated himſelf before Alexander, then kiſſed him, and afterwards ſat down at the table with the reſt. This they all did one after another, till it came to Calliſthenes's turn, who taking the cup drank it off, (the King, who was engaged in diſcourſe with Hephæſtion, not minding him) and then offered to kiſs him. But Demetrius, ſirnamed Pheido, interpoſed, ſaying, "Sir, by no means let him kiſs you, for he only of us all "has refuſed to adore you;" upon which the King declined it; and all that Calliſthenes ſaid, was, "Then I go away with a kiſs leſs than the reſt." This began to give the King an averſion to him, which was improved by many concurring circumſtances. In the firſt place Hephæſtion was eaſily believed when he declared that he had broke his word with him; having given him his promiſe to pay the King the ſame adoration that others did. Beſide this, Lyſimachus and Agnon added, that this ſophiſt went about priding himſelf, as if he ſtood in the gap againſt arbitrary power, and that the young men all ran after him, and honoured him as the only man among ſo many thouſands, who had the courage to preſerve his liberty. Therefore when Hermolaus's conſpiracy came to be diſcovered, the crimes which Calliſthenes's enemies laid to his charge were the more eaſily believed; particularly that when the young man aſked him, "What he ſhould do to be the moſt "illuſtrious perſon on earth," he told him, "The readieſt "way was to kill him who was ſo at preſent;" and that to incite him to commit the fact, he bid him "not be "awed by the golden canopy, but to remember that "Alex-

cauſe Alexander ſat on that ſide, and to ſhow that he already reckoned that Prince among the domeſtick tutelary Deities.

(1) Athe-

" Alexander was a man equally infirm and vulnerable " with another." However none of Hermolaus's accomplices, in the extremity of their torments, made any mention of Callisthenes's being engaged in the design. Nay Alexander himself, in the letters which he wrote soon after to Craterus, Attalus, and Alcetas, tells them, that those who were put to the rack, confessed they had entered into the conspiracy wholly of themselves, and that no others were privy to it. But yet afterwards, in a letter to Antipater, he accuses Callisthenes of that crime. " The young men," says he, " were stoned to death by " the Macedonians, but for the sophist, I will take care " to punish him, and them too who sent him to me, who " harbour those in their cities who conspire against my " life." By which expressions it appears he had no very good opinion of Aristotle, by whom Callisthenes was educated on account of his relation to him, being the son of his niece Hero. His death is variously related: some say he was hanged by Alexander's command; others, that he died of sickness in prison; but Chares writes, that he was kept in chains seven months after he was apprehended, on purpose that he might be proceeded against in full council, when Aristotle should be present; (1) and that he died of excessive fat and of the lousy disease, about the time that Alexander was wounded in the country of the Malli Oxydracæ. But this happened afterwards.

In the mean time Demaratus of Corinth, an old man, was very desirous to travel into Asia to visit Alexander; and when he had seen him, he said, " He pitied the mis- " fortune of those Grecians who died before they had be- " held Alexander seated on the throne of Darius. But he did not long enjoy the effects of the King's bounty; for soon after he fell sick and died. He had a magnificent funeral, and the army raised him a monument of earth eighty cubits high, and of a vast circumference. His ashes were conveyed in a very

(1) Athenæus says he was carried about in an iron cage, where he was

very rich chariot drawn by four horſes to the ſea-ſide.

Alexander being now intent upon his expedition into India, took notice, that his ſoldiers were ſo charged with booty, that it hindered their marching; to remedy which, at break of day, as ſoon as the baggage waggons were laden, he firſt ſet fire to his own and thoſe of his friends, and then commanded thoſe to be burnt which belonged to the reſt of the army. An action which in the deliberation ſeemed more dangerous and difficult than it proved in the execution; for few were diſſatisfied with it; on the contrary, moſt of them, as if inſpired with an enthuſiaſtick zeal, having furniſhed one another with what was abſolutely neceſſary, with loud ſhouts and outcries burnt and deſtroyed all that was ſuperfluous; the ſight of which redoubled Alexander's vigour and alacrity.

He was now grown very ſevere and inexorable in puniſhing thoſe who committed any fault; for he put Menander one of his friends to death, for deſerting a fortreſs, where he had placed him in garriſon; and ſhot Orſodates, one of the barbarians who had revolted from him, with his own hand. At this time a ſheep happened to yean a lamb, with the perfect ſhape and colour of a Tiara upon the head, and teſticles on each ſide; which prodigy ſo ſhocked Alexander, that he immediately cauſed his Babylonian prieſts, whom he uſually carried about him for ſuch purpoſes, to purify him, and told his friends, that he was not ſo much concerned for his own ſake, as for theirs, out of an apprehenſion that the Gods after his death might ſuffer his empire to fall into the hands of ſome degenerate, unworthy perſon. But this fear was ſoon removed by another prodigy that happened not long after, and was thought to preſage better. For Proxenus, a Macedonian, chief of thoſe who

was almoſt devoured by vermin, and at laſt expoſed to a lion.

(z) Strabo

who had the care of the King's equipage, as he was digging near the river Oxus, to set up the royal pavilion, discovered a spring of gross oily liquor; and after the top was drawn off, there issued out pure clear oil, not differing in taste or smell from real oil, and having exactly the same smoothness and brightness, though no olive-trees grew in that country (2). The water indeed of the river Oxus is said to be so fat, that it leaves a gloss on their skins who bathe themselves in it. Whatever might be the cause, it is certain that Alexander was wonderfully pleased with it, as appears by his letters to Antipater, where he tells him that he looked upon it as one of the most considerable presages that the Gods had ever favoured him with. The diviners told him, it signified his expedition would be glorious in the event, but very painful, and attended with many difficulties; for oil, they said, was bestowed on mankind by God as a refreshment after their labours. Nor did they judge amiss; for he exposed himself to many hazards in the battles which he fought, and received very deep and dangerous wounds; besides, his army suffered extremely from the unwholesomeness of the air, and the want of necessary provisions. But he still laboured to surmount fortune by his resolution, and to supply by virtue what he wanted in strength, being persuaded that nothing was insuperable to the brave, and nothing secure to the timorous. Therefore when he besieged Sisimethres on an inaccessible, impregnable rock (3), and his soldiers began to despair of taking it,

(2) Strabo says, "that they who "dig up the earth near the river "Ochus meet with springs of oil," and adds, "that as the earth a-"bounds with sulphureous bitu-"minous liquids, so doth it like-"wise with such as are fat and "unctuous. Lib. 11." He says that of the river Ochus, which Plutarch ascribes to the Oxus; but those two rivers join, and flow together through a certain tract of land. Quintus Curtius gives another turn to this miracle.

(3) In Bactriana. Strabo says that it was fifteen furlongs high, and eighty in compass, and that the top was a fertile plain, capable of maintaining five hundred men,

it, he asked Oxyartes, "Whether Sisimethres was a man "of courage?" He assured him, "he was the greatest "coward in the world. Then you tell me," said he, "that the place is our own, if the commander of it be "a coward. And in a little time he so intimidated Sisimethres, that he took it without any difficulty. At an attack which he made upon such another steep place with some of the youngest of his Macedonian soldiers, he called to one whose name was Alexander, and told him, "It would become him to behave gallantly for the sake "of his name." The youth fought bravely, and was killed in the action, at which the King was sensibly afflicted. Another time, seeing his men march slowly and unwillingly to the siege of a place called Nysa (4), because of a deep river between them and the town, he advanced before them, and standing upon the bank, "What a miserable man," said he, "am I, that I have "not learned to swim?" And then was hardly dissuaded from endeavouring to pass it with his shield in his hand. Once having sounded a retreat when he was fighting before the walls of a town to which he had laid siege, the besieged sent their ambassadors, with offers to surrender the place. When they were introduced into his presence, they were surprized to find him armed, and without any pomp or ceremony about him. Afterwards when his attendants brought him a cushion, he bid the eldest of them, named Acuphis, take it and sit down upon it. The old man charmed with his humanity and courtesy, asked him, "What his countrymen "should do to merit his friendship? I would have them," said

men. It was here Alexander espoused Roxana the daughter of Oxyartes,

(4) Arrian calls it Nysa, and places it between the rivers Cophene and Indus, near mount Meris. He adds, that it was built by Dionysus or Bacchus. This makes Lubinus think that it is the same with the Dionysiopolis of Ptolemy, which he likewise calls Nagara. The river, which according to Plutarch, runs under the walls of Nysa, must be the river Coas ment oned by Ptolemy. Justin calls Dionysiopolis Nyssa, and agrees with Arrian in his account of it. It is at present called Nerg.

(5) Alex-

ſaid Alexander, "chuſe thee to govern them, and ſend "one hundred of the moſt conſiderable and moſt worthy "men among them to remain with me as hoſtages. I "ſhall govern them with more eaſe," replied Acuphis ſmiling, "if I ſend you ſo many of the worſt, rather "than the beſt of my ſubjects."

(5) Taxiles's dominions in India are ſaid to have been as large as Egypt, and to have abounded remarkably in good paſtures, and in excellent fruits. Taxiles himſelf was a wiſe man, and at his firſt interview with Alexander, ſpoke to him in theſe terms: "To what purpoſe, ſaid he, "ſhould we make war upon one another, if thy "deſign of coming into theſe parts be not to rob us of our "water, or our neceſſary food, which are the only things "that wiſe men are indiſpenſably obliged to fight for? "As for other riches and poſſeſſions, if I am better pro- "vided of them than thou, I am ready to let thee ſhare "with me; but if fortune has been more liberal to thee "than me, I will not decline thy favours, but accept "them with all the grateful acknowledgments that are "due to a benefactor." This diſcourſe pleaſed Alexander ſo much, that embracing him, he ſaid, "Do not "think, that thy fair ſpeeches and kind behaviour ſhall "bring thee off in this interview without fighting. No, "thou ſhalt not eſcape ſo; for as to benefits, I will con- "tend with thee ſo far, that how obliging ſoever thou "art, thou ſhalt not have the better of me." (6) Then receiving ſome preſents from him, he returned him others of greater value, and laſt of all preſented him with a thouſand talents. At this his friends were exceedingly diſpleaſed, but it gained him the hearts of many of the barbarians.

The valianteſt of the Indians now taking pay of ſeve-

(5) Alexander paſſed the Indus, over a bridge near the town of Pencolaites. Between the Indus and Hydaſpes ſtood Taxiles, a large well governed city. The country about it is both beautiful and fertile, and ſome authors ſay it is bigger than Egypt, Strab. Lib. 15. Strabo as well as Plutarch calls the King of the country Taxiles; but others ſay he was only the Satrapa, or lieutenant, that his true name was Mophis, or Omphis, and that Alexander made

ſeveral cities, undertook to defend them, and did it ſo bravely, that they put Alexander to a great deal of trouble and fatigue, till having made an agreement with him, upon the ſurrender of a place, he fell upon them as they were marching away, and put them all to the ſword. This one breach of his word was a perpetual blemiſh upon him, though on all other occaſions he had managed his wars with that juſtice and honour that became his dignity. Nor were the Indian philoſophers leſs hurtful to him by inveighing bitterly againſt thoſe princes who were of his party, and ſoliciting the free cities to oppoſe him; therefore he took ſeveral of them, and cauſed them to be hanged.

Alexander in his own letters has given us the following account of his war with Porus. The two armies were ſeparated by the river Hydaſpes, on whoſe oppoſite bank Porus continually kept his elephants in order of battle, with their heads towards their enemies, to guard the paſſage. He every day made great noiſes in his camp, that the barbarians being accuſtomed to it might become careleſs and ſecure. In a ſtormy dark night he paſſed over the river, conſiderably above the place where the enemy lay, into a little iſland, with part of his foot, and the beſt of his horſe. Here there fell a violent ſhower of rain, accompanied with lightning and whirlwinds, and ſome of his men were burnt and deſtroyed by the lightning; however he quitted the iſland and made over to the other ſide. The Hydaſpes, now after the ſtorm, was ſo ſwoln and grown ſo rapid, as to make a breach in the bank, at which part of the river ran out, ſo that when he came to

made him take the crown, and the name of Taxiles, which was the common name of the kings of that country.

(6) Quintus Curtius ſays that Alexander returned him all the preſents he had made him, and added a thouſand talents to them, together with a great deal of gold and ſilver plate, ſeveral Perſian robes, and thirty horſes with ſuch furniture to them as he uſed himſelf.

(7) Plu-

to land, he found the place extremely slippery and the ground broken and hollowed by the current. In this distress he was heard to say, "O Athenians! would "you have believed that I should expose myself to such "dangers, to merit your praises?" But as to this last particular it is only mentioned by Onesicritus (7). Alexander himself goes on, and tells us that here they quitted the rafts they had made use of in their passage, and passed the breach in their armour up to the breast in water; and then he advanced with his horse about twenty furlongs before his foot, concluding, that if the enemy charged him with their cavalry, he should be too strong for them; if with their foot, his own would come up time enough to his assistance. Nor did he judge amiss; for being charged by a thousand horse, and sixty armed chariots, which advanced before their main body, he took all the chariots, and killed four hundred horse upon the place. Porus guessing by this that Alexander himself was come over, brought up his whole army, except a party which he left behind to prevent the rest of the Macedonians from passing the river. But Alexander fearing the multitude of the enemy, and the force of their elephants, would not join battle with them in front, but dividing his forces, attacked their left wing himself, and commanded Cœnus to fall upon the right. Both wings being broken retired to the elephants. Though the engagement began early in the morning, it was two hours after noon before the barbarians were entirely defeated. This description of the battle the conqueror has left us in his own epistles.

Almost all writers agree that Porus was four cubits and a palm (8) in height, and that when he was upon his

(7) Plutarch destroys the credit of this particular by barely naming the author; for this Onesicritus, as Strabo tells us, Lib. 15. was of all Alexander's historians the most fabulous.

(8) i. e. near seven feet.

(9) This extravagant number must be an error of the transcribers, who seem to have given us the number of inhabitants in one city for the number of cities,

his elephant, which was a very large one, his ſtature and bulk were ſuch, that he appeared to be but proportionably mounted. This elephant, during the whole battle, gave many proofs of wonderful understanding and a particular care of the King, whom as long as he was able to fight, he defended with great courage, repelling thoſe who attacked him; and as ſoon as he perceived him ready to faint by reaſon of his many wounds and the multitude of darts with which he was pierced, to prevent his falling off, he ſoftly kneeled down, and then with his proboſcis gently drew every dart out of his body. When Porus was taken priſoner, and Alexander aſked him, "How he expected "to be uſed?" He anſwered, "Like a King." "And "haſt thou nothing elſe to demand?" ſaid Alexander. "No," replied Porus, "in the word King every thing "is comprehended." Accordingly Alexander dealt very generouſly with him; for he not only ſuffered him to govern his own kingdom as his lieutenant, but added to it a large province of ſome free people whom he had newly ſubdued, which conſiſted of fifteen ſeveral nations, and contained five thouſand conſiderable towns, (9), beſide abundance of villages. Another government three times as large as this he beſtowed on Philip, one of his friends.

Some time after the battle with Porus, moſt authors agree, that Bucephalus died of his wounds, or as Oneſicritus ſays, of age and fatigue, being thirty years old. Alexander was no leſs concerned at his death, than if he had loſt an old companion, or an intimate friend, and built a city which he named Bucephalia in memory of him, on the banks of the river Hydaſpes. We are told moreover, that having loſt a favourite

cities. Arrian's account is this. "He took thirty-ſeven cities, the "leaſt of which contained five "thouſand inhabitants and ſeveral "of them above ten thouſand. He "took beſides a great number of "villages not leſs populous than "the cities, and gave the government of this country to Porus."

favourite dog named Peritas, he likewiſe built a city in memory of him, calling it after his name. (1) Sotio the hiſtorian tells us, that he had this particular from Potamo of Leſbos.

But this laſt combat with Porus abated the courage of the Macedonians, and hindered their further progreſs in India. For having with great difficulty defeated him, who brought but twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe into the field, they ſtrongly oppoſed Alexander's deſign of obliging them to paſs (2) the Ganges too, being told that it was thirty-two furlongs in breadth, and an hundred fathom deep, and that the banks on the further ſide were covered with prodigious numbers of foot, horſe, and elephants. For they had intelligence that the kings of the (3) Gandarites and Præſians expected them there with eighty thouſand horſe, two hundred thouſand foot, eight thouſand armed chariots, and ſix thouſand elephants (4). Nor was this an improbable report; for Androcottus, who not long after reigned in thoſe parts, made a preſent of five hundred elephants at once to Seleucus, and with an army of ſix hundred thouſand men ſubdued all India. Alexander at firſt was ſo grieved and enraged at the reluctance he found in the army, that he ſhut himſelf up in his tent, declaring,

(1) This author lived in the reign of Tiberius, and was contemporary with Potamo, who wrote a hiſtory of Alexander's exploits in India. We muſt not confound him with that Sotio who lived about the time of Ptolemy Philometor, and was the author of a treatiſe entitled "The ſucceſſion "of the philoſophers," of which Heraclides Lembus, the ſon of Serapio, made an abridgment.

(2) There was a letter extant in Strabo's time, written by Craterus to his mother Ariſtopatra, wherein he informed her that Alexander was arrived upon the banks of the Ganges, and that he himſelf had ſeen that river, of which he gave a wonderful account, eſpecially concerning the depth and breadth of it. It is well known that the Ganges is the largeſt of all the rivers in the three continents, that the Indus is the ſecond, the Nile the third, and the Danube the fourth

(3) Quintus Curtius makes one man King of thoſe two nations. But it appears from Strabo that they were two diſtinct governments, as they are repreſented here by Plutarch. The Gandarites

claring that if they would not pass the Ganges, he owed them no thanks for any thing they had hitherto done, and that to retreat now was plainly to confess themselves vanquished. But at last, the prudent remonstrances and persuasions of his friends, and the tears and lamentations of his soldiers, who in a suppliant manner crouded about the entrance of his tent, prevailed with him to think of returning. Yet before he decamped, he contrived some artifices to delude posterity into a false opinion of his greatness, by scattering about in different places arms of an extraordinary bigness, and mangers and bits for horses, above the usual size. He erected altars also to the Gods, which the kings of the Præsians even in our time highly reverence, often passing the river to sacrifice upon them after the Grecian manner. Androcottus, then a youth, saw Alexander there, and often said afterwards, that he missed but little of making himself master of those countries; because their King, who then reigned, was hated and despised for the viciousness of his life, and the meanness of his extraction (5).

Alexander decamping from hence, was desirous to see the ocean; for which purpose he caused a great many boats and rafts to be built, in which he went at leisure

rites were a people inhabiting near the heads of the Ganges and Indus, and the Præsians on the banks of the Ganges where that river falls into another called Erannoboas. The capital of these was called Palibothra; and the King, besides his family name, was called after the name of his city Palibrothras, Strab. Lib. 15. Lubinus is of opinion that it is the same with that which is called at present Holobas, in the dominions of the great Mogul.

(4) Diodorus says, twenty thousand horse, two thousand chariots, and four thousand elephants.

(5) This King's name was Agrammes; he was the son of a barber, with whose person the Queen was so smitten that she raised him to great dignity This wretch having treacherously murdered the King, seized on the kingdom upon a pretence of being guardian to the royal infants, whom likewise he caused to be murdered. His son succeeded him, and was the person who was on the throne during this expedition of Alexander.

leiſure down the rivers. But his navigation was neither unprofitable nor inactive; for by making ſeveral deſcents, he took the fortified towns, and made himſelf maſter of the country on both ſides. But at the ſiege of a city of the Mallians, who are the moſt valiant people of India, he was in great danger of his life; for having beaten off the defendants with ſhowers of arrows, he was the firſt man who mounted the wall by a ſcaling ladder, which, as ſoon as he was up, broke, and left him alone expoſed to the darts which the barbarians threw at him in great numbers from below. In this diſtreſs, collecting all his force and poiſing his body, he leaped down into the midſt of his enemies, and had the good fortune to light upon his feet. The glittering of his armour from this ſudden and violent motion, ſeemed to the barbarians like lightning or ſome ſupernatural ſplendor flaſhing about his body. This frighted them ſo at firſt, that they ran away, and diſperſed themſelves; till ſeeing him ſeconded but by two of his guards, they fell upon him hand to hand, and though he defended himſelf very bravely, wounded him through his armour with their ſwords and ſpears. One who ſtood further off, drew a bow with ſuch ſtrength, that the arrow finding its way through his cuiraſs, ſtuck in his ribs under the breaſt. This ſtroke was ſo violent, that it made him give back, and ſet one knee to the ground, which as ſoon as he that ſhot him perceived, he came up to him with his drawn ſcimitar; but Peuceſtas and Limnæus (6) interpoſed, who were both wounded, Limnæus mortally, but Peuceſtas ſtood his ground, while Alexander killed the barbarian. But this did not free him from danger; for beſide many other wounds,

(6) Quintus Curtius calls him Timæus.

(7) i. e. A little more than two inches broad, and three inches long.

(8) They were not ſo called in the days of Alexander. Strabo upon the credit of ſome who had followed that Prince in this expedition, ſays that there were two ſects of theſe philoſophers, and that one of them were called

wounds, he at laſt received ſo violent a ſtroke with a club upon his neck, that he was forced to lean his body againſt the wall, where he ſtood looking upon the enemy. When he was reduced to this extremity, the Macedonians breaking in to his aſſiſtance, took him up quite inſenſible, and conveyed him to his tent; upon which it was preſently reported all over the camp that he was dead. But when they had with great difficulty and pains ſawed off the ſhaft of the arrow, which was of wood, and ſo with much ado got off his cuiraſs, they then proceeded to draw out the head, which they found was three fingers broad and four long (7), and that it ſtuck faſt in the bone. During the operation, he was taken with almoſt mortal ſwoonings; but when it was out, he came to himſelf again. But even after the danger was paſt, he continued very weak, and confined himſelf a great while to a regular diet, attending entirely to the cure of his wound; till one day hearing the Macedonians were ſo deſirous to ſee him, that they were ready to mutiny, he put on his robe, and when he had ſhowed himſelf to them, and ſacrificed to the Gods, without more delay he went on board again, and as he coaſted along, ſubdued a great deal of the country on both ſides, and took ſeveral conſiderable cities.

In this voyage he took ten of the Indian philoſophers priſoners, who had been moſt active in perſuading Sabbas to rebel, and beſide that, had done the Macedonians a great deal of miſchief. Theſe men becauſe they go naked, (8) are called Gymnoſophiſts; and are reputed to be extremely acute and conciſe in their anſwers to whatſoever is propounded to them, which he made trial of, by putting difficult queſtions to them, telling them at the

ed Brachmani, and the other Germani; that the Brachmani were moſt eſteemed, becauſe there was a conſiſtency in their principles; that ſome of theſe Brachmani were called Gymneti, the naked; others the Mountaineers; and a third part the Polite, becauſe they dwelt in the cities. The readers may ſee ſomething very curious upon this ſubject in lib. xv. of that author.

the ſame time that he who anſwered worſt ſhould be put to death firſt, and the reſt afterwards in order; and he appointed the eldeſt of them judge. The firſt being aſked, "Which he thought moſt numerous, the dead or "the living?" Anſwered, "The living, becauſe they who "are dead are not at all." Of the ſecond he deſired to know, "Whether the earth or the ſea produced the largeſt "animals?" He told him, "The earth, for the ſea was "but a part of it." His queſtion to the third was, "Which "was the craftieſt animal? That" ſaid he, "with which "mankind is not yet acquainted." He bid the fourth tell him, "Why he perſuaded Sabbas to revolt? Becauſe," ſaid he, "I wiſhed him to live honourably, or die miſera-"bly." Of the fifth he aſked, "Which was eldeſt, night "or day?" The philoſopher replied, "Day was eldeſt "by one day:" but perceiving that Alexander was ſurprized at the reply, he added, "That he ought not to "wonder, if ſtrange queſtions had as odd anſwers made "to them." Then he went on, and enquired of the next, "What a man ſhould do to be exceedingly beloved? "He muſt be very powerful," ſaid he, "without making "himſelf too much feared." The anſwer of the ſeventh to his queſtion, "How a man might be a God?" was, "If he could do that which was impoſſible for men to per-"form." The eighth being aſked, "Which was ſtrongeſt, "life or death?" replied, "Life, becauſe it ſupported ſo "many miſeries." And the laſt being aſked, "How long "he thought it became a man to live?" ſaid, "So long "as he does not think death better than life." Then Alexander turned to him whom he had made judge, and commanded him to give ſentence. "All that I can de-"termine," ſaid he, "is, that they have every one anſwered

(9) Strabo, who gives us an account of this tranſaction, ſays that Alexander knowing thoſe philoſophers went to wait on no one, but inſiſted that whoever had a mind to ſee or hear them ſhould wait upon them, and thinking it beneath his dignity to go himſelf, and unjuſt to force them upon any thing contrary to their laws and inſtitutions, ſent Oneſicritus to them, who made his report that he found fifteen men not far from the city, who ſat naked from morning till evening in one continued poſture, and that

" ſwered worſe than another. Then thou ſhalt die firſt," ſaid the King, "becauſe thou judgeſt ſo ill. Not if you " keep your word," replied the Gymnoſophiſt, "which " was, that he ſhould die firſt who anſwered worſt." In concluſion he gave them preſents, and diſmiſſed them. But to thoſe who were in greateſt reputation among them, and lived a private retired life, (9) he ſent Oneſicritus a diſciple of Diogenes the Cynick, deſiring them to come to him. Calanus very arrogantly and rudely commanded him " to ſtrip himſelf, and hear what he ſaid, naked, " otherwiſe he would not ſpeak a word to him, though " he came from Jupiter himſelf." But Dandamis received him with more civility, and hearing him diſcourſe of Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes, told him, " he thought that they were men of great parts, but that " they paid too much reſpect to the laws (1)." Others ſay, he only aſked him the reaſon, " Why Alexander " undertook ſo long a voyage to come into thoſe parts?" Taxiles perſuaded Calanus to viſit Alexander; his proper name was Sphines, but becauſe he uſed to ſay Cale, which in the Indian tongue is the common form of ſalutation, the Grecians called him Calanus. He is ſaid to have ſhown Alexander an inſtructive emblem of government, which was this: he threw a dry ſhrivelled hide upon the ground, and trod upon the edge of it; the ſkin when it was preſſed in one place, ſtill roſe up in another, whereſoever he trod round about it, till he ſet his foot in the middle, which made all the parts lie flat and even. The meaning of this was, that Alexander ought to reſide moſt in the middle of his empire, and not undertake ſuch remote voyages.

His voyage down the rivers took up ſeven months time;

that in the evening they returned into the city; that he had diſcourſed with one of them called Calanus, who had diſcloſed to him things of a wonderful nature, which are to be found in Strabo, lib. xv.

(1) Mr. Dacier ſuppoſes that Dandamis meant to blame thoſe philoſophers for not going naked as he did. But others think that he cenſured them for ſuppreſſing their ſentiments concerning religion through fear of the laws.

time; and when he came to the sea, he sailed to an island which he called (2) Scilluſtis, others Pſiltucis, where going ashore, he sacrificed, and made what observations he could on the nature of the sea and the coast. Then having besought the Gods, "that no other man might "ever go beyond the bounds of this expedition," he ordered his fleet, of which he made Nearchus Admiral, and Oneſicritus pilot, to sail round about, leaving India on the right hand, and returned himself by land through the country of the Orites, where he was extremely distressed for want of provisions, and lost a great number of men, so that of an army of a hundred and twenty thousand foot, and fifteen thousand horse, he scarce brought back above a fourth part out of India, they were so diminished by diseases, ill diet, and the scorching heats, but mostly by famine. For their march was through an uncultivated country, whose inhabitants fared hardly, and had nothing to subsist on but a few sorry sheep, whose flesh was rank and unsavoury, by reason of their continual feeding upon sea-fish (3).

After six days painful march he came into Gedrosia, where he found great plenty of all things, which the neighbouring kings and governors of provinces, hearing of his approach, had taken care to provide. From hence, when he had refreshed his army, he continued his march through Carmania, feasting all the way for seven days together. He with his most intimate friends banquetted and revelled night and day, upon a stage erected on a lofty, conspicuous scaffold,

(2) Arrian calls it Cilluta. Quintus Curtius hints at it without naming it. Here they first observed the flux and reflux of the sea, which at first greatly terrified and surprized them.

(3) Strabo, Lib. 15. speaking of these Ichthyophagi says that both they and their cattle fed upon fish.

(4) This passage is so corrupted in the original that it is impossible to make any tolerable sense of it; for what can be the meaning of ταῖς Φιάλαις in this place? M. le Fevre in his notes upon Anacreon has restored the reading with great judgment Τῷ δὲ ἀτάκτῳ καὶ πεπλανημένῳ τῆς πορείας παρείπετο ὁ Φάλης καὶ παιδιὰ βακ-

ſcaffold, which with a ſlow majeſtick pace, was drawn by eight horſes. This machine was accompanied by a great many chariots, whereof ſome were covered with tapeſtry of purple and other colours, and ſome with green boughs, which had their place ſupplied with freſh ones whenever they withered. In theſe were carried the reſt of his friends and commanders, drinking and crowned with chaplets. In all this train there was no target, helmet, or ſpear to be ſeen; but the road was covered with ſoldiers, continually dipping their cups in large veſſels of wine, and drinking to one another, ſome as they marched along, and others ſeated at tables, which were placed for them at proper diſtances in their paſſage. The whole country reſounded with muſick and ſinging, and with the wild riotous frolicks of the women who followed the army. (4) This diſorderly and diſſolute march was cloſed by a very immodeſt figure born in pomp, and a moſt licentious repreſentation of all the obſcenity of the Bacchanals, as if Bacchus himſelf had been preſent to countenance and carry on the debauch. As ſoon as he came to the royal palace of (5) Gedroſia, he again refreſhed and feaſted his army; and it is ſaid that one day, after he had drank hard, he went out to ſee an entertainment of dancing, wherein his paramour Bagoas (who defrayed the expence of one of the choruſes) obtained the victory, at which he was ſo elated that he croſſed the ſtage in his feſtival habit, and ſat down cloſe by the King. This ſo pleaſed the Macedonians, that they with loud acclamations called upon

βακχικῆς ὕβρεως, which he has tranſlated "tam incompoſitum, "& vagabundum agmen ſeque-"batur Phales, & Bacchicæ licen-"tiæ Luſus." This Phales was a very ſcandalous figure of the God of the gardens, the ſame which was carried in proceſſion in Greece in the feaſts of the Bacchanals, and was called Phales or Phallus, Plutarch makes uſe of the laſt of theſe words in the life of Romulus, φαλλον γὰρ ἐκ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἀνασχεῖν.

(5) How could that be, ſince he had juſt quitted Gedroſia, and had continued his march for ſeven days together through Carmania? Perhaps we ſhould read the royal palace of Carmania.

(6) No-

upon him to kiſs Bagoas, and never left clapping their hands and ſhouting, till Alexander took him about the neck and kiſſed him.

Here his Admiral Nearchus came to him, and delighted him ſo much with the relation of his voyage, that he reſolved himſelf to ſail out of the mouth of the Euphrates with a great fleet, with which he deſigned to go round by Arabia and Libya, and ſo by Hercules's Pillars into the Mediterranean; in order to which he directed all ſorts of veſſels to be built at Thapſacus, and collected ſeamen and pilots from all quarters. But it fell out unluckily for this enterprize, that the report of the difficulties he went through in his Indian expedition, the danger of his perſon among the Mallians, the loſs of a conſiderable part of his forces, and the general opinion that he would hardly return in ſafety, occaſioned the revolt of many conquered nations, and tempted the commanders and lieutenants in ſeveral provinces to oppreſs the people with extreme injuſtice, avarice, and inſolence. In a word, there ſeemed to be throughout his whole empire an univerſal fluctuation and diſpoſition to change: inſomuch that Olympias and Cleopatra had raiſed a faction againſt Antipater, and ſhared his government between them, Olympias ſeizing upon Epirus, and Cleopatra upon Macedonia. When Alexander was told of it, he ſaid, "His mother had made the beſt choice, for "the Macedonians would never endure to be ruled by a "woman." Upon this he diſpatched Nearchus again to his fleet, intending to carry the war into all the maritime provinces. In the mean time, in his march through the inland countries, he puniſhed thoſe commanders who had not behaved well, particularly Oxyartes, one of Abulites's ſons, whom he killed with his own hand, thruſting him through the body with his ſpear. And when Abulites, inſtead of the neceſſary proviſions which he ought to have furniſhed, brought him three thouſand talents in money, he ordered it to be thrown to his horſes, who not meddling with it, he ſaid, "What

" What good does this proviſion do me?" and ſent him away to priſon.

Upon his return into Perſia, he diſtributed money among all the women of the country, according to a cuſtom which had been always obſerved by their kings, who were obliged upon their progreſs to give every woman a piece of gold; for which reaſon ſome of them came but ſeldom, and Ochus was ſo ſordidly covetous, that he never viſited Perſia, though it was his native country, but choſe rather to live a voluntary exile than bear the expence.

Finding Cyrus's ſepulchre opened and rifled, he put Polymachus who was guilty of it to death, though he was a man of quality, and born at Pella in Macedonia: and after he had read the inſcription, he cauſed it to be cut again below the old one in Greek characters; the words were theſe: " O man, whoſoever thou art, and " whenceſoever thou comeſt (for come I know thou " wilt) I am Cyrus, the founder of the Perſian empire; " do not envy me this little quantity of earth which co- " vers my body." The reading of this ſenſibly touched Alexander, cauſing him to reflect ſeriouſly upon the uncertainty and mutability of human affairs. At the ſame time Calanus having been a little while troubled with a looſeneſs, requeſted he might have a funeral pile erected, to which he came on horſeback, and after he had ſaid ſome prayers, and had poured a libation upon himſelf, and cut off ſome of his hair to throw into the fire, he aſcended it, embracing and taking leave of the Macedonians who ſtood by, and deſiring them to paſs that day in mirth and drinking with their King, whom in a little time, he ſaid, he ſhould ſee again at Babylon. Having ſaid this, he lay down, and covered himſelf up; he did not move when the fire came near him, but continued ſtill in the ſame poſture as at firſt; and thus he ſacrificed himſelf according to the ancient cuſtom of the philoſophers of his country. The ſame thing was done long after by another Indian, who came with Cæſar to Athens, where they

they ſtill ſhow the Indian's monument. Alexander at his return from the funeral pile, invited a great many of his friends and principal officers to ſupper, and propoſed a drinking-match, in which the victor ſhould be crowned. Promachus drank fourteen quarts of wine, and won the prize, which was worth a talent; but he ſurvived his victory only three days, and was followed, as Chares ſays, by forty-one more, who died of the ſame debauch, by reaſon of the ſevere froſt which happened at that time.

At Suſa he married Darius's daughter Statira, and celebrated the nuptials of his friends, beſtowing the nobleſt of the Perſian ladies upon the worthieſt of them. He alſo made a very ſplendid entertainment for all the Macedonians who were married before; at which it is reported, there were no leſs than nine thouſand gueſts, to each of whom he gave a golden cup for them to uſe in their libations. Not to mention other inſtances of his wonderful magnificence, he paid the debts of his whole army, which amounted to nine thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy talents. Antigenes (who was diſtinguiſhed by the name of One-eyed) though he owed nothing, got his name ſet down in the liſt of thoſe who were in debt, and bringing one who pretended to be his creditor, received the money. But when the cheat was found out, the King was ſo incenſed at it, that he baniſhed him from court, and took away his command, though he was an excellent ſoldier, and a man of great courage. For when he was but a youth, and ſerved under Philip at the ſiege of Perinthus, where he was wounded in the eye by an arrow ſhot out of an engine, he would neither let the arrow be taken out nor be perſuaded to quit the field, till he had bravely repulſed the enemy, and forced them to retire into the town. A man of his ſpirit was not able to ſupport ſuch a diſgrace with any patience, and his grief and deſpair would certainly have killed him; but the King fear-

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ing the conſequence, not only pardoned him, but let him alſo enjoy the benefit of his deceit.

The thirty thouſand boys whom he left behind him to be inſtructed in military diſcipline, were now full-grown, and were ſo beautiful in their perſons, and performed their exerciſes with ſuch dexterity and agility, that he was extremely pleaſed; but the Macedonians were diſheartned, fearing the king would now have leſs eſteem for them. And when he was ſending home the infirm and maimed ſoldiers, they ſaid they were unjuſtly and diſhonourably dealt with, and complained that after he had worn them out in his ſervice, he was now turning them off with diſgrace, and ſending them back to their own country among their friends and relations, in a worſe condition than he found them in when he brought them from thence; Therefore they deſired him to diſcharge them all, and to account his Macedonians uſeleſs, now he was ſo well furniſhed with theſe dancing boys, with whom if he pleaſed he might go on, and conquer the whole world. Theſe ſpeeches ſo enraged Alexander, that after he had ſeverely reprimanded them, he removed them from his perſon, and choſe his lifeguard and the other inferior officers who attended him from among the Perſians. When the Macedonians ſaw him attended by theſe men, and themſelves excluded and diſgraced, they were exceedingly mortified; and upon diſcourſe with one another they found that jealouſy and rage had almoſt diſtracted them. But at laſt coming to themſelves again, they went unarmed, with nothing on them but their tunicks, and with tears and lamentations preſented themſelves at his tent, deſiring him to deal with them as their baſeneſs and ingratitude deſerved. However this would not prevail; for though his anger was already ſomething mollified, yet he would not admit them into his preſence, nor would they ſtir from thence, but continued two days and nights before his tent, bewailing their misfortune, and calling upon him as their prince and Sove-

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reign. The third day he came out to them, and seeing them very humble and penitent, he wept a great while, and after a gentle reproof spoke kindly to them, and dismissed those who were unserviceable, with magnificent rewards, and this recommendation to Antipater; that when they came into Greece, at all publick shows, and in the theatres, they should sit in the most honourable seats, crowned with chaplets of flowers; and he ordered the children of those who had lost their lives in his service, to have their fathers pay continued to them.

When he came to Ecbatana in Media, and had dispatched his most urgent affairs, he diverted himself again with spectacles, and publick entertainments, to carry on which, he had a supply of three thousand performers newly arrived out of Greece. But they were soon interrupted by Hephæstion's falling sick of a fever, in which, being a young man, and a soldier too, he could not confine himself to so exact a diet as was necessary; for whilst his physician Glaucus was gone to the theatre, he eat a boiled capon for dinner, and drank a large draught of wine cooled with ice, upon which he grew worse, and died in a few days. At this misfortune Alexander was so extravagantly transported, that to express his sorrow he immediately ordered the manes and tails of all his horses and mules to be cut, and threw down the battlements of the neighbouring cities. He crucified the poor physician, and forbad the use of the flute, or any other musical instrument in the camp for a great while, till the oracle of Jupiter Ammon enjoined him to honour Hephæstion, and sacrifice to him as to a hero. Then seeking to alleviate his grief in war, he set out as if he were going to hunt men; for he fell upon the Cussæans, and put the whole nation to the sword, not sparing so much as the children. This was called, "a "sacrifice to Hephæstion's ghost." He intended to bestow ten thousand talents in celebrating his funeral and erecting a monument to him; and that the excel-

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lence and beauty of the workmanſhip might ſurpaſs even the expence itſelf, he rather choſe to employ Staſicrates than any other artiſt, becauſe he always expreſſed ſomething very bold, lofty, and magnificent in his deſigns. This was the man, who in a former diſcourſe had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, that of Athos in Thrace was the moſt capable of being contrived to repreſent the ſhape and lineaments of a man; that if he pleaſed to command him, he would make it the nobleſt and moſt durable ſtatue in the world, and that in its left hand it ſhould hold a city of ten thouſand inhabitants, and out of its right ſhould pour a copious river into the ſea. Though Alexander declined this project, yet now he ſpent a great deal of time with workmen, to invent and contrive others far more abſurd and expenſive.

As he was upon his way to Babylon, Nearchus, who had ſailed back out of the ocean by the mouth of the river Euphrates, came to tell him, he had met with ſome Chaldæan diviners, who warned him not to go thither. But Alexander ſlighted this advice, and went on; and when he came near the walls of the city, he ſaw a great many crows fighting with one another, ſome of which fell down juſt by him. After this, being informed that Apollodorus the governor of Babylon had ſacrificed in order to know what would be his fate, he ſent for Pythagoras the ſoothſayer, who not denying the thing, he aſked him, in what condition he found the victim? And when he told him, the liver was defective in that lobe called the head, he ſaid, "A terrible preſage, indeed!" however he offered Pythagoras no injury; but he was much troubled that he had neglected Nearchus's advice, and therefore remained in his camp a great while without the town, and diverted himſelf with ſailing up and down the Euphrates. For beſide this, he was terrified by many other prodigies. A tame aſs fell upon the largeſt and handſomeſt lion that was kept there, and kicked him to death. One day he undreſſed himſelf to be anointed,

anointed, and to play at tennis, and when he had done, and was putting his cloaths on again, the young man who had played with him, perceived a man clad in the King's robes, with a diadem upon his head, ſitting ſilently upon his throne. They aſked him, "Who "he was?" To which he gave no anſwer a good while, till at laſt with much ado coming to himſelf, he told them, "His name was Dionyſius; that he was of Meſſ- "enia; that for ſome crime of which he was accuſed, "he had been forced to fly his country, and had made "his eſcape by ſea, and got from thence to Babylon, "where he had been kept in chains for a long time; that "Serapis had juſt before appeared to him, had freed him "from his chains, conducted him to that place, and "commanded him to put on the King's robe and diadem, "and to ſit where they found him, and to ſay nothing." Alexander when he heard this, by the direction of his ſoothſayers, put the poor wretch to death; but from that time he began to deſpond, and grew diffident of the protection of the gods, and very ſuſpicious of his friends. His greateſt apprehenſion was of Antipater and his ſons, one of whom, named Jollas, was his chief cup-bearer; the other, named Caſſander, was newly arrived out of Greece, and being bred up in the freedom af his country, the firſt time he ſaw the barbarians adore the King, he was ſurprized at the novelty of the thing, and could not forbear laughing aloud at it; which ſo incenſed Alexander, that he took him by the hair with both hands, and violently beat his head againſt the wall. Another time, Caſſander would have ſaid ſomething in defence of Antipater, to thoſe who accuſed him; but Alexander interrupting him, cried out, "What is it you ſay? Do you think people "if they have received no injury, would come ſuch a "journey only to calumniate your father?" To which Caſſander replied, "that this very thing was a great "evidence of their calumny, for the further they were "come the further they were from thoſe proofs that "could confute them." Alexander ſmiled at this, and

ſaid,

ſaid, " Thoſe are ſome of Ariſtotle's ſophiſms, which " will ſerve equally on both ſides; but," added he, " both you and your father ſhall be ſeverely puniſhed if " it appears that the complainants have received the leaſt " injuſtice at your hands." This menace made ſuch a deep impreſſion on Caſſander's mind, that long after, when he was King of Macedonia, and maſter of all Greece, as he was walking one day at Delphi, and looking on the ſtatues, at the ſight of that of Alexander he was ſuddenly ſeized with ſuch a trembling and dizzineſs, that he with great difficulty recovered himſelf.

When once Alexander began to give way to ſuperſtition, his mind grew ſo reſtleſs and timorous, that he looked upon every event, however trifling, if in the leaſt unuſual or extraordinary, to be a prodigy and a preſage; and his court ſwarmed with diviners and prieſts, who were perpetually offering ſacrifices, making purifications, and uttering prophecies. So horrid a thing is incredulity, and contempt of the Gods on one hand; and no leſs horrid is ſuperſtition on the other, which, like water, whoſe property is always to flow downwards, affects only thoſe whoſe minds are ſunk and depreſſed, filling them with abſurd imaginations and extravagant terrors, as it did now Alexander himſelf. But upon ſome anſwers which were brought him from the Oracle concerning Hephæſtion, he laid aſide his ſorrow, and fell again to ſacrificing and drinking. Having given Nearchus a ſplendid entertainment, after he had bathed, as was his cuſtom, and was juſt going to bed, at Medius's requeſt he went to ſupper with him. Here he drank all that night and the next day to ſuch exceſs, that it threw him into a fever, which ſeized him, not as ſome write, after he had drank off Hercules's bowl; nor was he taken with a ſudden pain in his back, as if he had been ſtruck with a lance: for theſe are the inventions of ſome authors, who thought that ſo noble a drama ought to have a pathetick and tragical cataſtrophe. Ariſtobulus tells us, that in the rage

of his fever, and the violence of his thirſt, he took a draught of wine, upon which he fell into a frenzy, and died the thirtieth of the month Dæſius, [June.] But in his own journals we have the following account of his ſickneſs: "The eighteenth of the month Dæſius, "finding himſelf feveriſh, he lay in his bathing-room. "On the morrow, when he had bathed, he returned in- "to his chamber, and ſpent the day at dice with Me- "dius. In the evening having bathed and ſacrificed, "he ſupped, and had his fever that night. The twen- "tieth, after the uſual ſacrifices and bathing, he kept "his bed in the ſame room, and heard Nearchus's re- "lation of his voyage, and the obſervations he had made "concerning the ocean. The twenty-firſt he paſſed in "the ſame manner, his fever ſtill increaſing, and he had "a very bad night. The next day he had a ſevere fit, "and cauſed himſelf to be removed, and his bed to be "ſet by the great bath, where he diſcourſed with his "principal officers about filling up the vacant charges "in the army with men of tried valour and experience. "The twenty-fourth, being much worſe, he was carried "out to aſſiſt at the ſacrifices, and gave order that his "chief commanders ſhould wait within the court, whilſt "the other officers kept watch without doors. The "twenty-fifth, he was removed to his palace on the o- "ther ſide the river, where he ſlept a little, but his fe- "ver did not abate, and when the commanders came "into his chamber, he was ſpeechleſs, and continued "ſo the following day. Then the Macedonians ſup- "poſing he was dead, came with great clamour to "the gates, and menaced his friends ſo, that they "were forced to admit them, and let them all paſs "unarmed by his bed-ſide. The twenty-ſeventh, "Pytho and Seleucus being ſent to Serapis's temple, "to enquire if they ſhould bring Alexander thither, "were anſwered by the God, that they ſhould not "remove him. The twenty-eighth in the evening he "died.

(7) Nonacris was a town in Arcadia, near which there was a rock, from whence flowed a water of ſo deadly and cold a nature,

died. This account is moſt of it word for word taken from his own diary.

At that time no body had any ſuſpicion of his being poiſoned; but upon a diſcovery made ſix years after, they ſay, Olympias put many to death, and threw abroad the aſhes of Iollas, who was then dead, as if he had given it him. But thoſe who affirm that Ariſtotle perſuaded Antipater to do it, and that it was wholly by his means that the poiſon was brought, produce one Agnothemis for their author, who pretends that he had heard King Antigonus ſpeak of it, and tells us that the poiſon was a water of a deadly quality cold as ice, diſtilling from a rock in the territory of Nonacris (7), which they gathered like a thin dew, and kept in an aſs's hoof; for it was ſo very cold and penetrating, that no other veſſel would hold it. However, moſt are of opinion that all this is falſe; a ſtrong evidence of which is, that during the diſſenſions among the commanders, which laſted a great many days after his death, the body continued clear and freſh, without any ſign of ſuch taint or corruption, though it lay neglected in a hot ſultry place.

Roxana, who was now with child, and upon that account much honoured by the Macedonians, being jealous of Statira, ſent for her by a counterfeit letter, as if Alexander had been ſtill alive; and when ſhe had her in her power, killed her and her ſiſter, and threw their bodies into a well, which they filled up with earth, not without the privity and aſſiſtance of Perdiccas, who at this time under the ſhelter of Aridæus, who he carried about with him for his own ſecurity, bore the greateſt ſway of any. Aridæus himſelf, who was Philip's ſon, by one Philinna, an obſcure common ſtrumpet, was a man of weak parts, by

nature, that they gave it the name of the Stygian water.

by reaſon of a bodily indiſpoſition which neither was born with him nor came of itſelf; for in his childhood he was lively and of a promiſing diſpoſition; but ſome potions that Olympias gave him, not only impaired his health, but weakened his underſtanding.

JULIUS

JULIUS CÆSAR.

AS (1) ſoon as Sylla had made himſelf maſter of Rome, he reſolved to force Cornelia (2), daughter to Cinna (who had obtained the ſupreme power in Rome) from Cæſar her huſband; but being unable to effect it either by hopes or fears, he confiſcated

(1) Some authors are of opinion that the life of Cæſar is imperfect, and that the beginning is wanting; but this conjecture is ill founded. Plutarch paſſes over the firſt years in Cæſar's life, becauſe nothing illuſtrious occurred in them till in oppoſition to Sylla he refuſed to divorce Cornelia. He enters at once upon that part where he firſt begins to make a figure.

(1) Cæſar married her, notwithſtanding he had been contracted whilſt very young to Coſſutia a lady of a conſular family, and very wealthy. He would not follow the example

confiscated her dowry. The ground of Sylla's hatred to Cæsar, was the alliance between him and Marius; for Marius the elder married Julia, Cæsar's aunt by the father's side, and had by her the younger Marius, who consequently was Cæsar's cousin-german. And though at first Sylla had overlooked Cæsar from the hurry of business and the vast number of his murders and proscriptions; yet Cæsar was not satisfied with this, but presented himself to the people as a candidate for the priesthood (3), though he was yet extremely young; but being opposed by Sylla he was unsuccessful in his application. When Sylla afterwards consulted with his friends about putting him to death, some of them said that it was not worth his while to contrive the death of a boy: but he answered, "That they knew little, who "did not see many Marius's in that boy." Cæsar having notice of this, lay concealed a long while among the Sabines, often changing his quarters; till one night, as he was removing his lodging, and was conveyed in a litter on account of his health, he fell into the hands of Sylla's soldiers, who were searching those parts in order to apprehend such as had absconded. Cæsar, by a bribe of two talents, prevailed with Cornelius their Captain to let him go, and was no sooner dismist, but he put to sea, and sailed to Bithynia. After a short stay there with Nicomedes the King, in his passage back he was taken near the island Pharmacusa by the pirates, who at that time with some great ships, and a vast number of smaller vessels, infested those seas. When at first they demanded of him twenty talents for his ransom, he laughed at them, as not understanding the value of their prisoner, and voluntarily engaged

of Piso, who to make his court to Sylla divorced Annia, Cinna's wife, to whom he had been married.

(3) Rualdus has rightly observed that Plutarch is mistaken in this particular; for it is not true that Cæsar did not stand for the priesthood till Sylla's government, and that when he did stand for it Sylla made interest against him. It is evident from history that Cæsar in the seventeenth year of his age breaking through

engaged to give them fifty. He preſently diſpatched thoſe about him to ſeveral places to raiſe the money, and in the mean time remained in the hands of thoſe bloody wretches, with only one friend, and two attendants: yet he held them in ſuch contempt, that when he had a mind to ſleep, he would ſend to them, and command ſilence.

For thirty-eight days, he with the greateſt freedom uſed to exerciſe and divert himſelf among them, as if they had not been his keepers, but his guards and attendants. He wrote verſes, and ſpeeches and made them his auditors, and thoſe who did not admire them, he called to their faces illiterate and barbarous, and would often in raillery threaten to hang them. They were much pleaſed with this freedom, attributing it to ſimplicity and a chearful ſportive humour. As ſoon as his ranſom was come from Miletus, he paid it, and was diſcharged; but preſently after he manned ſome ſhips at the port of Miletus, and went in purſuit of the pirates, whom he ſurprized as they lay at anchor near the iſland, and took moſt of them. Their money he ſeized as plunder, and the men he ſecured in priſon at Pergamus. He then applied to Junius, who had the government of Aſia, to whoſe office it belonged as prætor, to determine their puniſhment. Junius having his eye upon the money, (for the ſum was conſiderable) ſaid, "He would think at "his leiſure what to do with the priſoners;" upon which Cæſar took his leave of him, and went for Pergamus, where he ordered the pirates to be brought forth and crucified; which puniſhment he had often threatened them

through his obligations to Coſſutia, married Cornelia the daughter of Cinna, by whoſe intereſt, and that of Marius, he was declared Flamen Dialis, or prieſt of Jupiter. After this Sylla, who was now become abſolute, earneſtly preſſing him to divorce Cornelia, and Cæſar obſtinately refuſing, he deprived him of that office. In this manner we find it related by Velleius and Suetonius.

them with, whilſt he was in their hands, and they little thought he was in earneſt.

In the mean time Sylla's power declined, and Cæſar's friends adviſed him to return to Rome; but he went to Rhodes, and entered himſelf in the ſchool of (4) Apollonius, Molo's ſon, a famous rhetorician, whom Cæſar had attended, and who was eſteemed a man of virtue and integrity. Cæſar was by nature excellently framed for a perfect ſtateſman and orator, and took ſuch pains to improve his genius this way, that without diſpute he might challenge the ſecond place amongſt men of that character. More he did not aim at, chuſing to be firſt rather amongſt men of arms and power; and therefore he never roſe to that pitch of eloquence to which nature would have carried him, being diverted by thoſe expeditions and deſigns, which at length gained him the empire. And he himſelf, in his anſwer to Cicero's panegyrick on Cato, deſires his reader not to compare the plain diſcourſe of a ſoldier with that of an accompliſhed orator, who had employed ſo great a part of his life in the ſtudy of eloquence.

When he was returned to Rome, he accuſed Dolabella of maladminiſtration; and many cities of Greece came in to atteſt it. Dolabella was acquitted; and Cæſar, in return of the favours he had received from the Grecians, aſſiſted them in their proſecution of Publius Antonius for bribery before Marcus Lucullus prætor of Macedonia. In this cauſe he prevailed ſo far, that Antonius was forced to appeal to the tribunes at Rome, alledging, that in Greece he could not have juſtice againſt Grecians. By his pleadings at Rome he acquired great reputation, and gained much upon the affections

(4) According to Suetonius, Cæſar had before this adventure of the pirates ſtudied at Rome under Apollonius; but Plutarch very improperly makes two men of one in this place. Molo was not the name of Apollonius's father but of Apollonius himſelf; and he is called Apollonius Molo by Suetonius, Quintilian, and Cicero. He was often called Molo ſimply, without the addition of the other name. Plutarch falls into the ſame miſtake in the life of

affections of the people by the eaſineſs of his addreſs and converſation, in which he was accompliſhed beyond what could be expected from his age. His intereſt grew ſtill inſenſibly greater by the entertainments he gave, and the magnificence of his whole manner of life. His enemies ſlighted the growth of it at firſt among the common people, in expectation it would ſoon fail, when his money was gone. But when his power at laſt was fixed, and not to be controuled, and now openly tended to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, they were aware too late, that there is no beginning ſo mean, which continued application will not make conſiderable, and that ſmall dangers, by being deſpiſed at firſt, become at laſt irreſiſtible. Cicero was the firſt who had any ſuſpicions of his deſigns upon the government, and ſaw the dangerous enterprizing ſpirit which lurked beneath that diſguiſe of good humour and affability, which he conſidered as a deceitful calm that is the forerunner of a dreadful tempeſt; and he ſaid of him, "In all his pro-"jects and intrigues I plainly diſcover the diſpoſition of a "tyrant; but when I ſee his hair lie in ſo exact order, and "obſerve him ſo often adjuſting it (5) with his finger, I "cannot imagine it ſhould enter into ſuch a man's thoughts "to ſubvert the Roman ſtate." But this was ſaid afterwards.

The firſt proof he had of the people's good-will to him, was, when he obtained a tribuneſhip in the army againſt Caius Popilius. A ſecond and clearer inſtance of their favour appeared upon his making an excellent oration in praiſe of his aunt Julia, wife to Marius, publickly in the Forum: at whoſe funeral he was ſo bold as to bring forth the images of Marius, which

of Cicero, as Rualdus has obſerved.

(5) This was the common reproach of effeminate perſon, witneſs this epigram.

——*Digito qui caput uno ſcalpit, quid credas hunc ſibi velle virum?*

And this line in Juvenal.

Qui digito uno ſcalpunt caput.

(6) Sueto-

which till then no one durſt produce ſince the government came into Sylla's hands, Marius's party having from that time been declared enemies to the ſtate. For when ſome upon this occaſion exclaimed againſt Cæſar, the people on the other ſide were pleaſed with the action, and received it with very great applauſe; admiring him for having revived in the city thoſe honours of Marius, which for ſo long time had been buried. It had always been the cuſtom at Rome to make funeral orations in praiſe of ancient matrons; but there was no precedent of any upon young women, till Cæſar firſt made one upon the death of his own wife. This alſo procured him great favour, and by this expreſſion of affection he won the hearts of the people, who looked upon him as a man of great tenderneſs and extraordinary good-nature.

When he had buried his wife, he went Quæſtor into Spain under Antitius Væter, who was Prætor, whom he honoured ever after, and made his ſon Quæſtor when he himſelf came to be Prætor. At the expiration of his office, he married Pompeia his third wife, having then a daughter by Cornelia his firſt wife, whom he afterwards married to Pompey the Great.

He was ſo profuſe in his expences, that before he had any publick employment, he was in debt thirteen hundred talents. Some thought that by being at ſo great a charge to be popular, he parted with a real and ſolid good, for what was ſhort and uncertain: but in truth he purchaſed what was of the greateſt value at an inconſiderable rate. When he was made ſurveyor of the Appian way, he diſburſed beſide the publick money a great ſum out of his private purſe; and when he was Ædile, he provided ſuch a number of gladiators, (6) that he entertained the people with three hundred and twenty duels; and by his great liberality

(6) Suetonius tells us he had collected a very great number of gladiators, which made his enemies ſo jealous of him that they

berality and magnificence in all other publick ſpectacles, proceſſions and feaſts, he obſcured the glory of all who went before him, and ingratiated himſelf ſo much with the people, that every man was eager to beſtow upon him new offices, and new honours, in return for his munificence.

There being two factions in the city, that of Sylla, which was very powerful, and that of Marius, which was then broken, and in a very low condition, he was deſirous to raiſe and revive it again. To this end, whilſt he was in the height of his repute with the people, for the magnificent ſhows he gave as Ædile, he ordered ſome images of Marius to be privately made, together with ſome figures of victory bearing trophies in their hands, and theſe he carried in the night, and placed in the capitol. Next morning, when ſome perſons ſaw them glittering with gold, and obſerved the beauty of the workmanſhip, and the inſcriptions which gave an account of Marius's exploits againſt the Cimbrians, they were ſurprized at the boldneſs of him who had ſet them up; nor was it difficult to gueſs who it was. The fame of this ſoon ſpread, and brought together a great concourſe of people: ſome preſently cried out that Cæſar had deſigns upon the government, becauſe he had revived thoſe honours which were buried by the laws, and by the decrees of the ſenate; that this was done to ſound the temper of the people, whoſe affections he had gained by his magnificent ſhows and entertainments, and to try whether they were tame enough to bear his humour, and ſubmit quietly to his innovations. However Marius's party took courage; and it is incredible what a multitude of them appeared on a ſudden, and came ſhouting into the capitol. Many of them at the ſight of Marius's picture wept for joy, and Cæſar was highly extolled as the only perſon, who was a relation

they limited the number, ſo that he exhibited fewer than he intended. Aliquanto paucioribus, quàm deſtinaverat, paribus.

(7) But

tion worthy of Marius. Upon this the ſenate met, and Catulus Luctatius, one of the moſt eminent Romans of that time, ſtood up, and accuſed Cæſar, cloſing his ſpeech with this remarkable ſaying; "Cæſar "no longer undermines the government, but openly "plants his batteries againſt it." But when Cæſar had made an apology for himſelf, and ſatisfied the ſenate, his admirers were very much animated, and adviſed him not to let any one ſhake his reſolution, ſince he was likely to get the better of them all in a little time, and to be the firſt man in the ſtate with the peoples conſent.

At the ſame time Metellus the High-prieſt died; and Catulus and Iſauricus, perſons of high reputation, and who bore a great ſway in the ſenate, were competitors for the office; yet Cæſar would not give way to them, but preſented himſelf to the people as a candidate againſt them. The ſeveral intereſts ſeeming very equal, Catulus, who becauſe he had the moſt honour to loſe, was the moſt apprehenſive of the event, ſent to Cæſar to buy him off, with offers of a great ſum of money; but he anſwered, "That he would "increaſe his debts by a larger ſum than that to carry "on the competition." Upon the day of election, as his mother conducted him out of doors with tears in her eyes, he ſaluted her, and ſaid, "Well mother, to-"day you'll ſee me either High-prieſt, or an exile." When the votes were taken, after a great ſtruggle, he carried it, and by that he gave the ſenate and nobility reaſon to fear he might now raiſe the people to the greateſt height of arrogance. Therefore Piſo and Catulus blamed Cicero for letting Cæſar eſcape, when in the conſpiracy of Catiline he had given the government ſuch an advantage againſt him. For Catiline, who had deſigned not only to change the preſent ſtate of affairs, but entirely to ſubvert the whole commonwealth, and bring every thing into confuſion, had himſelf eſcaped, the evidence not being full againſt him, as they had not yet diſcovered the whole of his deſign. But he had

left

left Lentulus and Cethegus in the city, to ſupply his place in the conſpiracy. Whether they had any ſecret encouragement and aſſiſtance from Cæſar is uncertain; however they were fully convicted in the ſenate, and when Cicero the Conſul aſked the ſeveral opinions of the ſenators, how they would have them puniſhed, all who ſpoke before Cæſar ſentenced them to death; but Cæſar ſtood up and delivered a ſtudied ſpeech, wherein he told them, "That he thought it unprecedented and unjuſt, "to take away the lives of two perſons of their birth "and rank before they were fairly tried, unleſs there "was an abſolute neceſſity for it; but that if they were "kept confined in any town which Cicero himſelf ſhould "chuſe, till Catiline was defeated, then the ſenate might "in peace and at their leiſure determine what was beſt "to be done." This ſentiment had ſo much appearance of humanity, and was delivered with ſuch force of eloquence, that not only thoſe who ſpoke after him cloſed with it, but even they who had before given a contrary opinion, now came over to his; till it came to the turn of Catulus and Cato to ſpeak. They warmly oppoſed it; and Cato inſinuated in his ſpeech ſome ſuſpicions of Cæſar himſelf, and preſt the matter ſo far, that the criminals were given up to ſuffer execution. As Cæſar was going out of the ſenate, many of the young men that guarded Cicero ran in with their naked ſwords to aſſault him. But Curio, as it is ſaid, threw his gown over him, and conveyed him out, and Cicero himſelf gave a ſign to his guards, who watched the motions of his eye, not to kill him, either for fear of the people, or becauſe he thought the murder unjuſt and illegal. If this be true, I wonder how Tully came to omit it in the book which he wrote concerning his conſulſhip. However he was blamed afterwards for not making uſe of ſo good an opportunity againſt Cæſar out of fear of the populace who very much favoured him.

Some time after, when Cæſar went into the ſenate to clear himſelf of ſome ſuſpicions he lay under, he found

found great clamours raiſed againſt him, whereupon the ſenate ſetting longer than ordinary, the people went up to the houſe in a tumult, and beſet it, demanding Cæſar, and requiring them to diſmiſs him. Upon this Cato, much fearing a mutiny from the poorer ſort, who inflamed and exaſperated all the reſt, and who now placed all their hopes in Cæſar, perſuaded the ſenate to give them a monthly allowance of corn, which put the commonwealth to the extraordinary charge of ſeven million five hundred thouſand drachmas a year (7). This expedient removed all fears for the preſent, and very much weakened Cæſar's power, who at that time was juſt going to be made prætor, and conſequently would have been more formidable by his office. But there was no publick diſturbance during his prætorſhip, though he met with a diſagreeable accident in his family.

Publius Clodius was a perſon of a patrician family and eminent both for his riches and eloquence; but in lewdneſs and impudence he exceeded the very worſt of thoſe who were infamous for their debauchery. He was in love with Pompeia, Cæſar's wife, and ſhe had no averſion to him. But there were ſtrict guards on her apartment, and Cæſar's mother Aurelia, who was a diſcreet woman, being continually about her, made an interview very dangerous and difficult. The Romans have a Goddeſs whom they call the good Goddeſs, as the Greeks have one whom they call Gynæcea, that is, the Goddeſs of the women. The Phrygians, who claim a peculiar title to her, ſay ſhe was mother to king Midas: the Romans pretend ſhe was one of the Dryads, and married to Faunus: the Grecians affirm that ſhe is that mother of Bacchus, whoſe name is not to be uttered: for this reaſon the women who celebrate her feſtival, cover the tents with vine branches, and according to the fable, a conſecrated dragon is placed near the ſtatue of the Goddeſs. It is not lawful

(7) But this diſtribution was not long continued.

(8) The

ful for a man to be preſent, nor even to be in the houſe, whilſt the ſacred rites are celebrated; but the women by themſelves perform many ceremonies reſembling thoſe uſed in the ſolemnity ſacred to Orpheus. When the feſtival comes, the huſband, who is always either Conſul or Prætor, and with him every male creature, quits the houſe; the wife then taking it under her care, prepares it for the ſolemnity, which is performed chiefly in the night-time, attended with mirth and ſport, and ſeveral ſorts of muſick. As Pompeia was at that time celebrating this feaſt, Clodius, who as yet had no beard, and whoſe face was like that of a young woman, thinking he might paſs undiſcovered, took upon him the habit and diſguiſe of a ſinging woman, and went to Cæſar's houſe. Finding the doors open, he was readily introduced by a young maid who was in the intrigue. She preſently ran to tell Pompeia, but not returning ſo ſoon as he expected, he grew uneaſy in waiting for her, and therefore left his poſt, and traverſed the houſe from one room to another, ſtill taking care to avoid the lights, till at laſt Aurelia's woman met him, and invited him to ſuch recreations as the women uſed among themſelves. He refuſed to comply; but ſhe preſently pulled him forward and aſked him who he was and whence? Clodius told her he waited for Aura, one of Pompeia's maids, and ſo betrayed himſelf by his voice: upon which the woman ſhrieking, ran into the company where there were lights, and cried out, ſhe had diſcovered a man. The women were all in a fright: Aurelia preſently threw a veil over the ſacred utenſils, put a ſtop to the ſolemnity, and having ordered the doors to be ſhut, ran about with lights to find Clodius, who was got into the maid's room that he had come with, and was ſeized there. The women knew him, and drove him out of doors, and preſently, though it was yet night, went home to tell their huſbands the ſtory. In the morning it was reported through the city that Clodius had made

made this impious attempt, and all agreed that he ought to be punished as an offender, not only against those whom he had affronted, but also against the public, and the Gods. Upon which one of the tribunes accused him of impiety, and some of the principal senators came in, and witnessed against him, that beside many other horrible crimes, he had been guilty of incest with his own sister, who was married to Lucullus. But the people set themselves against the interest of the nobility, and defended Clodius; which was of great service to him with the judges, who were at a loss how to proceed, being afraid to provoke the commonalty. Cæsar immediately divorced Pompeia; but being summoned as a witness against

(8) The words in the original are, τῶν πλείστων δικαστῶν συγκεχυμένας τοῖς πράγμασι τὰς γνώμας ἀποδιδόντων. Mr. Dacier translates them thus; "Most of the judges "confounding this with some o-"ther things gave their judgment "upon them all together." He supposes that Plutarch in this passage intended to express the Latin phrase, "ferre sententias per sa-"turam;" by which the Romans meant the determining several different things by one vote. Thus when a law was proposed to the people consisting of several articles, and they were to confirm or reject the whole at once, it was called Satura lex. In the same manner he supposes the judges to have joined several other causes with this of Clodius, and to have made one sentence serve for all of them. However this method of determining per Saturam was found to be attended with great inconveniences, and was therefore prohibited by the Lex Cæcilia et Didia. Plutarch mentions this trial of Clodius again in the life of Cicero, and the words there are, τὰς δέλτους οἱ πλεῖστοι συγκεχυμένας τοῖς γράμμασιν ἧνεγκαν, i. e. "When the judges gave their "votes, they had confounded and "obscured the letters upon their "tablets." Mr. Dacier thinks that that passage should be corrected by this, and that instead of γράμμασιν we should there read πράγμασιν.

But this opinion of Mr. Dacier is liable to several objections. 1. The Greek words themselves in this place will not without great violence admit of this translation. 2 Plutarch says Most of the judges, &c. But it cannot be imagined that there was such irregularity and confusion in a Roman court of judicature, that when a number of judges sat to determine a cause, some of them should give judgment upon that cause singly, and the rest join several other causes with it. 3. Though the people might by one vote determine concerning the several clauses of a law that was proposed to them, yet it is extremely

againſt Clodius, he ſaid, "He had nothing to charge "him with." This looking like a paradox, the accuſer aſked him, "Why then he parted with his wife?" Cæſar replied, "Becauſe I cannot bear that my wife ſhould "be ſo much as ſuſpected." Some ſay that Cæſar ſpoke as he thought; others, that he did it to gratify the people, whom he ſaw very earneſt to ſave Clodius. Clodius therefore was acquitted, moſt of the judges having obſcured the letters upon their tablets (8), that they might not be in danger from the people by condemning him, nor in diſgrace with the nobility by acquitting him.

The province of (9) Spain fell to Cæſar's lot at the expiration of his prætorſhip; but he found himſelf very

extremely abſurd to ſuppoſe that this was practiſed by the judges in civil or criminal cauſes, and that they determined ſeveral of them at once by the ſame ſentence. 4. If this had ever been done, it could not have been allowed in this caſe, becauſe the Lex Cæcilia et Didia was paſſed many years before the trial of Clodius. 5. If it had been allowed of, it would have been of no uſe to the judges; for their ſentence would nevertheleſs have been publickly known, which they were deſirous to prevent. It is much more probable that this paſſage ſhould be corrected by that in the life of Cicero, and that inſtead of πράγματα we ſhould here read γράμματα. The manner of paſſing ſentence among the Romans in criminal cauſes was this. When the accuſation and defence were finiſhed, the Prætor gave to each of the judges three tablets covered with wax, on one of which was marked the letter A, i. e. Abſolvo, on the ſecond C, i. e. Condemno, and on the third N. L. i. e. Non liquet. They then withdrew to conſult, and each threw into an urn what tablet he pleaſed; theſe were then counted, and the Prætor pronounced the ſentence according to the greater number, either abſolving the criminal, or condemning him, or referring the determination to another trial. The letters being marked upon wax might eaſily be effaced or obſcured; and this the judges in that hazardous ſituation probably did, that it might be quite uncertain what their determination was. And that there was ſome uncertainty appears from what Plutarch ſays in the life of Cicero; for after mentioning that the judges were ſo terrified that they procured a guard for their protection, and that moſt of them obſcured the letters upon their tablets, he adds, "Moſt of "the tablets, however, ſeems to "be abſolutory."

(9) They who are not converſant in the Roman antiquities will be apt to conclude from this

very much embarraſſed by his creditors, who, as he was going off, came upon him, and were very preſſing and importunate. This made him apply to Craſſus, who was the richeſt man in Rome, but ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of Cæſar's activity and warmth of temper to enable him to oppoſe Pompey with ſucceſs. Craſſus undertook to ſatisfy thoſe creditors who were moſt troubleſome and untractable, and engaged himſelf to the value of eight hundred and thirty talents: upon which Cæſar was now at liberty to go to his province. In his journey as he was croſſing the Alps, and paſſing by a ſmall village of the barbarians, which was ſtocked with but few inhabitants, and thoſe wretchedly poor, his friends ſmiled, and aſked him by way of raillery, "If there were any canvaſing for offices there, "any contention which ſhould be uppermoſt, or any "feuds of great men one againſt another?" To which Cæſar anſwered very ſeriouſly, "For my part I had ra- "ther be the firſt man among theſe fellows, than the ſe- "cond man in Rome." It is ſaid that another time whilſt he was in Spain, and reading at a leiſure hour the hiſtory of Alexander, he ſat a great while very thoughtful, and at laſt burſt into tears. His friends were ſurprized, and aſked him the reaſon of it. "Do you think," ſaid he, "I have not juſt cauſe to weep, when I conſider "that Alexander at my age had conquered ſo many "nations, and that I have all this time done nothing "that is memorable?"

As ſoon as he came into Spain he was very active, and in a few days had added ten new cohorts to thoſe twenty which were there before. With theſe he marched againſt the Gallæci and Luſitani, conquered them, and advancing as far as the ocean, ſubdued other nations which never before had been ſubject to the Romans. Having managed his military affairs with good ſucceſs, he was equally happy in the courſe of

this paſſage that Cæſar had the government of all Spain conferred upon him; whereas the further Spain only fell to his lot, "ex "prætura

of his civil government. For he eſtabliſhed concord and tranquillity in the ſeveral cities, and took eſpecial care to compoſe the differences betwixt debtors and creditors. He ordered that the creditor ſhould receive two thirds of the debtor's yearly income, and that the other third ſhould remain to the debtor himſelf, till by this method the whole debt was at laſt diſcharged. This conduct made him leave his province with great reputation; though he carrried off great wealth himſelf, and enriched his ſoldiers, who therefore complimented him with the title of Imperator.

There was a law among the Romans, that whoever deſired the honour of a triumph ſhould ſtay without the city; and another, that thoſe who put up for the Conſulſhip ſhould appear perſonally upon the place. Cæſar came home at the very time of chuſing Conſuls; and being in a ſtrait between theſe two oppoſite laws, ſent to the ſenate to deſire that he might be allowed to ſue for the Conſulſhip though abſent. Cato ſtood up in defence of the law, and ſtrenuouſly oppoſed his requeſt; afterwards perceiving that Cæſar had prevailed with a great part of the ſenate to comply with it, he made it his buſineſs to gain time, and waſted an whole day in harangues. Upon which Cæſar thought fit to drop the triumph, and purſued the Conſulſhip. He came therefore preſently into the city, and entered upon a project which deceived all but Cato. This was the reconciling of Craſſus and Pompey, who then bore the greateſt ſway in Rome. There had been a miſunderſtanding between them; but Cæſar made up the difference, and by this means ſtrengthened himſelf by the united power of both. Thus he privately undermined the government by an action which ſeemingly was only an office of kindneſs and humanity. For it was not the quarrel betwixt Pompey

" prætura ulteriorem ſortitus Hiſpaniam " ſays Suetonius, which comprehended Luſitania and Bætica, that is Portugal and Andaluſia.

Pompey and Cæsar, as most men imagine, that was the foundation of the civil wars, but their union, their conspiring at first to subvert the aristocracy, and their quarrelling at last which should be monarch. Cato, who often foretold what the consequence of this alliance would be, had then the character of an ill-tempered and overbusy man, but afterwards the reputation of a wise though unfortunate counsellor. Thus Cæsar being doubly guarded with the interest of Crassus and Pompey, was promoted to the Consulship, and declared by the general suffrage of the people with Calpurnius Bibulus.

When he was fixed in his office he proposed some laws which were more worthy of a bold mutinous tribune than a Consul, and were designed only to gain the favour of the commonalty by decreeing to them a division of lands and a distribution of corn. The best and most honourable of the senators opposed it; upon which, having long waited for such a pretence, he openly protested "that he was forced unwillingly to appeal to the people, and that the rigour and opposition of the senate had driven him to the necessity of flying to them for their protection. This he did accordingly; and having Crassus on one side of him, and Pompey on the other, he asked them two, whether they consented to the laws he had proposed? They owned their assent; upon which he desired them to assist him against those who with sword in hand had threatened to oppose him. They engaged they would; and Pompey added further, that "he would not only meet their swords with sword in hand, but that he would bring a buckler with him besides." This speech the nobles resented, as neither suitable to his dignity, nor becoming the reverence due to the senate, but as altogether rash and insolent: the people however were pleased with it.

Cæsar, that he might still more firmly secure to himself the interest of Pompey, gave him his daughter Julia in marriage, who had before been contracted to Servilius

Servilius Cæpio, and told Servilius he ſhould have Pompey's daughter, who was not unprovided neither, but deſigned for Sylla's ſon, Fauſtus. A little time after Cæſar married Calpurnia, the daughter of Piſo, and made Piſo Conſul for the year following. Cato exclaimed loudly againſt this, and proteſted with a great deal of warmth, that it was intolerable that the government ſhould be proſtituted by marriages, and that theſe men ſhould advance one another to the commands of armies, provinces, and to other great poſts, by the intereſt of women.

Bibulus, Cæſar's collegue, finding it was to no purpoſe to oppoſe Cæſar's laws, and having been frequently in danger of being murdered in the Forum together with Cato, confined himſelf to his houſe, and there ſpent the remaining part of his Conſulſhip. Pompey, when he was married, preſently filled the Forum with ſoldiers, and ſo ſecured to the people their new laws, and to Cæſar the government of all Gaul on both ſides of the Alps, together with Illyricum, and the command of four legions for five years. Cato made ſome attempts to oppoſe theſe meaſures, but was ſent to priſon by Cæſar, who imagined he would appeal to the tribunes. But when Cæſar ſaw that he went along without ſpeaking a word, and that not only the nobility reſented it, but that the people alſo out of their veneration to Cato's virtue waited on him, and by their ſilence and dejected looks, expreſſed a great concern for him, he himſelf privately deſired one of the tribunes to reſcue Cato. As for the other ſenators, ſome few of them attended the houſe; the reſt being diſguſted abſented themſelves. Hence Conſidius, a very old man, took occaſion one day to tell Cæſar, that "the ſenators did not meet becauſe they were afraid of his ſoldiers." Cæſar preſently aſked him, "Why do not you then out of the ſame fear keep at "home?" To which the old man replied, that "age "was his guard againſt fear, and that the ſmall remains "of his life were not worth much care.

But the moſt ſcandalous thing that was done in Cæſar's Conſulſhip, was his promoting Clodius, who attempted to diſhonour his bed, and who had impiouſly profaned the ſacred and myſterious vigils. Him he preferred on purpoſe to ruin Cicero; nor did Cæſar take the field till they had overpowered him, and driven him out of Italy.

Such was Cæſar's conduct before the wars of Gaul. After this he ſeems to have begun his courſe afreſh, and to have entered upon a new and different ſcene of action. Thoſe battles which he afterwards fought, and thoſe many expeditions in which he ſubdued the Gauls, ſhow him to have been a ſoldier and a General, not in the leaſt inferior to any of the greateſt and moſt admired commanders. For if we compare him with the Fabii, the Metelli, the Scipio's, and with thoſe that were his contemporaries, or not long before him, Sylla, Marius, the two Luculli, or even Pompey himſelf, whoſe fame for every kind of military virtue reached the heavens, we ſhall find Cæſar's actions to have ſurpaſſed them all. One he excelled on the account of the difficulty of the places where he fought; another in reſpect of the large extent of country which he ſubdued; ſome in the number and ſtrength of the enemies whom he conquered; and ſome in the roughneſs and barbarity of the tempers of thoſe people whom he poliſhed and civilized; others in his humanity and clemency to thoſe he overpowered; and others in his gifts and gratuities to his ſoldiers; all in the number of the battles which he fought, and of the enemies whom he killed. For he had not purſued the wars in Gaul full ten years, before he took by ſtorm eight hundred towns, and ſubdued three hundred ſtates; and whereas the number of men with whom

(1) Cæſar himſelf gives us an account of this action in his third book of the civil wars, and tells us, that this ſoldier received two hundred and thirty darts upon his target, and adds, that he gave him as a reward for his valour two hundred thouſand

whom at different times he was engaged amounted in all to three millions, one million of these he slew in battle, and made another million prisoners. The zeal and affection of his soldiers for him was such, that those who in other expeditions were but ordinary men, were invincible and irresistible when they went upon any danger where Cæsar's glory was concerned. Such an one was Acilius, who in a sea-fight before Marseilles flung himself into a galley belonging to the enemy, where though he had his right hand cut off with a sword, yet still held his buckler in his left, and struck the enemies in the face with it, till he defeated them, and made himself master of the vessel. Such another was Cassius Scæva, who in the battle fought against Pompey near Dyrrhachium, having lost one of his eyes by an arrow, having his shoulder pierced with one javelin, and his thigh run through with another, and having received (1) a hundred and thirty darts upon his target, called to the enemy, as though he would surrender himself; but when two of them came up to him, he cut off the arm of one with his sword, and by a blow on the face forced the other to retire, whilst with the assistance of his own party he made his escape. Again in Britain, when some of the vanguard were accidentally fallen into a morass full of water, and there assaulted by the enemy, a common soldier, whilst Cæsar stood and looked on, threw himself into the midst of them, and after many and signal demonstrations of his valour, beat off the barbarians, and rescued the men. At last he himself with much ado, partly by swimming, and partly by wading, past the morass, but in the passage lost his shield. Cæsar and those about him were astonished at the action, and went to meet him with joy and acclamations; but the soldier, very much

thousand sesterces, and promoted him from the eighth rank to the first, and besides other military rewards, decreed double pay to the soldiers of that cohort.

much dejected, and in tears, threw himſelf down at Cæſar's feet, and begged his pardon for having loſt his buckler. Another time in Africa, Scipio having taken a ſhip of Cæſar's in which was Granius Petronius, who had lately been made Quæſtor, put the other paſſengers to the ſword, but told the Quæſtor "that he gave him his life:" but he replied, "It is not "uſual for Cæſar's ſoldiers to take, but to give life;" and having ſaid this, he ran upon his ſword, and killed himſelf.

This courage and theſe principles of honour were inſpired into them, and cheriſhed by Cæſar himſelf, who by his liberal diſtribution of money and honours, ſhowed them, that he did not from the wars heap up wealth for his own luxury, or the gratifying his private pleaſure, but that he took care to ſettle a ſure fund for the reward and encouragement of valour, and that he looked upon himſelf as rich only in that which he gave to deſerving ſoldiers. Beſides, there was no danger to which he did not willingly expoſe himſelf, no labour from which he pleaded an exemption. His contempt of danger was not ſo much admired by his ſoldiers, becauſe they knew how much he loved honour: but his enduring ſo much hardſhip, which he did to all appearance beyond his natural ſtrength, very much aſtoniſhed them. For he was of a ſlender habit of body, had a ſoft and white ſkin, was troubled with pains in his head, and ſubject to an epilepſy, which it is ſaid firſt ſeized him at Corduba. But he did not make the weakneſs of his conſtitution a pretext for his eaſe, but uſed war as the beſt phyſick againſt his indiſpoſitions; and by continual marches, coarſe diet, and frequent lodging in the fields, he ſtruggled with his diſeaſes, and prepared his body againſt all attacks. He ſlept generally in his chariots or litters, and employed even his reſt in action. In the day he was carried to view caſtles, garriſons, or fortifications, in his chariot, having always a ſervant ſitting with him, whoſe buſineſs

it

it was to write down what he dictated as he went, and a ſoldier attending behind, who carried his ſword. He uſually drove ſo briſkly, that when he firſt ſet out from Rome he arrived at the river Rhone within eight days He had been an expert rider from his childhood; for it was uſual with him to hold his hands cloſe behind him, and to put his horſe to full ſpeed. But in the wars he had improved himſelf ſo far as to dictate letters on horſeback, and to furniſh employment for two ſecretaries at the ſame time, or as Oppius ſays, for more. And it is thought that he was the firſt who found out a new way of converſing with his friends by letters, when either through multitude of buſineſs, or the large extent of the city, he had not time for a perſonal conference about ſuch incidents as required a ſudden diſpatch.

How little concerned he was about his diet, we may learn from this remarkable inſtance. When Valerius Leo invited him one night to ſupper at Milan, and treated him with Aſparagus, upon which inſtead of oil he had poured ſweet ointment, Cæſar fed on it without any diſguſt, and reprimanded his friends for finding fault with it. "For it was enough," ſaid he, "not to eat what you did not like; but he who reflects "on another man's want of breeding, ſhows he wants it "as much himſelf." Another time upon the road being driven by a ſtorm into a poor man's cottage, where he found but one room, and that ſuch as would afford but a mean reception to a ſingle perſon, he told his companions, that "the moſt honourable places ought to be "given to the beſt men, but the moſt neceſſary accommo-"dations to the weakeſt;" and accordingly ordered that Oppius, who was infirm, ſhould lodge within, whilſt he and the reſt ſlept under a ſhed at the door.

His firſt war in Gaul was againſt the Helvetians and Tigurini, who having burnt twelve of their own towns, and four hundred villages, would have marched forward through that part of Gaul which was ſubject to the Romans, as the Cimbrians and Teutones formerly had done.

done. For they were not inferior to them in courage, and in numbers they were equal, being in all three hundred thouſand, of which one hundred and ninety thouſand were fighting men. Cæſar did not engage the Tigurini in perſon, but (2) ſent Labienus his lieutenant, who routed them near the river Arar: but the Helvetians ſurprized Cæſar, and unexpectedly ſet upon him as he was conducting his army (3) to a confederate town. However he managed ſo as to get into a place well fortified, where, when he had muſtered and drawn up his men, his horſe was brought to him; upon which he ſaid, "When I have won the 'battle, I will uſe my horſe for the purſuit, but at pre-"ſent let us go againſt the enemy:" accordingly he charged them furiouſly on foot. After a long and ſharp engagement he drove the main army out of the field, but found the greateſt difficulty when he came to their carriages and ramparts, where not only the men ſtood and fought, but the women alſo and children defended themſelves, till they were cut to pieces; inſomuch that the fight was ſcarce ended till midnight. This action, in itſelf very great, Cæſar crowned with another more glorious, by gathering in a body all the barbarians that had eſcaped out of the battle, above one hundred thouſand in number, and obliging them to repair to the country which they had deſerted, and the cities which they had burnt. This he did for fear the Germans ſhould paſs the Rhine, and poſſeſs themſelves of the country whilſt it lay uninhabited.

His ſecond war was in favour of the Gauls againſt the Germans, though ſome time before he had procured

(2) Cæſar ſays himſelf that he left Labienus to guard the works he had raiſed from the lake of Geneva to mount Jura, and that he marched in perſon at the head of three legions to attack the Tigurini in their paſſage over the Soane, and killed a great number of them.

(3) Bibracte, called at preſent Autun. Cæſar gives us a deſcription of this engagement in his firſt book of the war in Gaul. Here it was that in order to prevent all hopes of a retreat, and to ſhare equally with all in the

cured Arioviſtus their king to be owned at Rome as an ally. But they were very unſufferable neighbours to thoſe under his dominion, and it was probable that when occaſion offered, they would not be ſatisfied with their late acquiſitions, but would attempt to ſeize on the reſt of Gaul, and drive out the inhabitants. But finding his commanders timorous, and eſpecially thoſe of the young nobility, who ſeemed to think that in an expedition under Cæſar they ſhould have nothing to do but to enrich themſelves and live in eaſe and pleaſure, he called them together, and adviſed them to retire, and not to run the hazard of a battle againſt their inclinations, ſince they were ſo effeminate and cowardly; telling them withal, that he would take only the tenth legion, and march againſt the barbarians, whom he did not expect to find an enemy more formidable than the Cimbri, nor ſhould they find him a general inferior to Marius. Upon this the tenth legion deputed ſome of their body to return him thanks; and the other legions reproached their officers, and with great vigour and zeal followed him many days journey, till they encamped within two hundred furlongs of the enemy. Arioviſtus's reſolution began to waver upon their very approach; for not expecting that the Romans would attack the Germans, but on the contrary that if attacked themſelves they would not have ſuſtained the charge, he admired Cæſar's courage, and at the ſame time ſaw his own army under a great conſternation. They were ſtill more diſcouraged by the prophecies of their (4) holy women, who by obſerving the eddies of rivers, and taking omens from the windings and noiſe of

the danger, he ſent back his horſe, the reſt following his example.

(4) It is in the Greek Τὰ μαντεύματα τῶν ἱερῶν γυναικῶν; but M. de Thou is of opinion that inſtead of ἱερῶν it ought to be ἰδίων "their own wives." This conjecture is juſtified by the words of Dion, αἱ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν βαρβάρων, "the wives of the barbarians "themſelves," and by the expreſſion in Cæſar, "Matres familias "eorum.

(5) That

of brooks, foretold future events, and warned them not to engage before the next new moon. Cæsar having had intimation of this, and seeing the Germans lie still, thought it expedient to attack them whilst they were under these apprehensions, rather than sit still and wait their time. Accordingly he made his approaches to their fortifications and to the hills where they were encamped, and so harrassed and exasperated them that at last they came down with great fury to engage. But he gained a glorious victory, and pursued them for three hundred furlongs (5) as far as the Rhine; all which space was covered with spoils, and bodies of the slain. Arioviſtus made shift to pass the Rhine with the small remains of his army; for it is said the number of the slain amounted to eighty thousand.

After this action Cæsar left his army at their winter quarters in the country of the Sequani, and, in order to attend his affairs at Rome, went into that part of Gaul which lies on the Po, and was part of his province; for the river Rubicon divides the Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy. There he remained and employed himself in cultivating the favour of the people, who flocked to him in great numbers, and always found their requests answered: for he never dismissed any without present pledges of his favour, and further hopes for the future.

During all this time of the war in Gaul, Pompey never discovered how on one side Cæsar conquered his enemies with the arms of Rome, and on the other subdued the Romans with the money which he had got from his enemies. But when Cæsar heard that the Belgæ,

(5) That seems impossible. Three hundred furlongs make thirty-seven miles and a half. There must certainly be some error in the text; and that there is so is plain from Cæsar, who makes the distance to be no more than five miles. "Atque "omnes hostes," says he, "terga "verterunt, neque prius fugere "destiterunt quam ad flumen Rhe- "num millia passuum ex eo loco "circiter quinque perve nerunt;" and that Cæsar wrote it "millia "quinque," and not "millia "quinquaginta," as it is in some editions, is evident from this,

Belgæ, who were the moſt powerful of all the Gauls, and inhabited a third part of the country, had revolted, and that they had got together a great many thouſand men in arms, he immediately directed his courſe that way with great expedition, and falling upon the enemy, as they were ravaging the country of the Gauls his allies, he ſoon defeated them, and put them to flight. For though their numbers were great, yet they made but a ſlender defence, ſo that the marſhes and deep rivers were made paſſable to the Roman foot, by the vaſt quantity of dead bodies. Thoſe revolters who dwelt upon the ſea-coaſts ſurrendered without fighting, and therefore he led his army againſt the Nervii, who are the moſt uncivilized and moſt warlike people of all in thoſe parts. Theſe live in a cloſe woody country? and having lodged their children and their goods in a deep hollow within a large foreſt, they fell upon Cæſar with a body of ſixty thouſand men before he was prepared for them, and while he was making his encampment. They ſoon routed his cavalry, and having ſurrounded the twelfth and ſeventh legions, killed all the officers; and had not Cæſar himſelf ſnatched up a buckler, and forced his way through his own men, to come up to the barbarians; or had not the (6) tenth legion, when they ſaw him in danger, ran in from the tops of the hills, where they lay, and broke through the enemies ranks, to reſcue him, in all probability his army had been entirely cut off. But through the influence of Cæſar's valour, the Romans in this conflict exerted more than ordinary courage: yet with their utmoſt efforts they were not able to beat the enemy out of the

this, that the Greek verſion renders it στάδια τετταράκοντα forty furlongs, which anſwer exactly to five miles. Plutarch without doubt wrote it "thirty furlongs," but the copyers afterwards tranſcribed it "three hundred."

(6) Thus it ought to be tranſlated, and not the twelfth, as it is in the text. For Cæſar himſelf tells us that Labienus ſent the tenth legion to his aſſiſtance; the twelfth was employed elſewhere. There is a fine deſcription of this battle left us by Cæſar, lib. 2.

(7) Plu-

the field, but cut them off fighting in their own defence. For out of ſixty thouſand ſoldiers, not above five hundred ſurvived the battle; and of four hundred of their ſenators not above three. When the Roman ſenate had received news of this action, they voted ſacrifices and feſtivals to be celebrated for the ſpace of fifteen days, which was longer than ever had been obſerved for any victory before. For the danger appeared great, becauſe they were engaged with ſo many ſtates at once, and the favour of the people to Cæſar made the victory more eſteemed becauſe he was conqueror. For he was now retired to his winter-quarters by the Po, where, after he had ſettled the affairs of Gaul, he reſided in order to proſecute his deſigns at Rome.

All who were candidates for offices uſed his aſſiſtance, and were ſupplied with money from him to corrupt the people, and buy their votes, in return for which, when they were choſen, they did all they could to advance his power. But what was more conſiderable, the moſt eminent and powerful men in Rome in great numbers made their court to him at Luca, as Pompey, and Craſſus, and Appius the Prætor of Sardinia, and Nepos the Proconſul of Spain; ſo that there were upon the place at one time a hundred and twenty lictors, and more than two hundred ſenators. Having conſulted together they came to this agreement, that Pompey and Craſſus ſhould be Conſuls again for the following year; that Cæſar ſhould have a freſh ſupply of money, and that his command ſhould be renewed to him for five years more. It ſeemed very abſurd to all thinking men, that thoſe very perſons who had received ſo much money from Cæſar, ſhould perſuade

(7) Plutarch is here giving us an account of the war with the Uſipetes and Tenchteres, which happened under the Conſulſhip of Craſſus, and Pompey, but there were ſeveral conſiderable tranſactions which Plutarch has omitted, in a word, all that is related in Cæſars third book of the war in Gaul.

(8) It is in the original in his Ephemerides; from whence it appears that Plutarch in this place calls Cæſar's commentaries his Ephemerides; for which Rualdus has juſtly cenſured him.

For

perſuade the ſenate to grant him more, as if he were in want; though indeed they did not ſo much perſuade as compel the ſenate, who at the ſame time regretted what they were forced to decree. Cato was not preſent, for they had ſent him off very ſeaſonably into Cyprus; but Favonius, who was a zealous imitator of Cato, when he found he could do no good by oppoſition, broke out of the houſe, and loudly declaimed againſt theſe proceedings to the people. But none paid any attention to him; ſome ſlighted him out of reſpect to Craſſus and Pompey, others to gratify Cæſar, on the hopes of whoſe favour alone their life ſeemed to depend.

After this, Cæſar returned again to his forces in Gaul, where (7) he found that country involved in a dangerous war, two powerful nations of the Germans having lately paſt the Rhine, and made inroads into it; one of them called the Upſipetes, and the other the Tenchteri. Of the war with this people, Cæſar himſelf has given this account in his commentaries (8.) The barbarians having ſent ambaſſadors to treat with him, during the treaty ſet upon him in his march, by which means with eight hundred men they routed five thouſand of his horſe, who did not ſuſpect their coming. Afterwards they ſent other ambaſſadors to purſue the ſame fraudulent practiſes; theſe he kept in cuſtody, and led on his army againſt the barbarians, as judging it would betray too much caſineſs, if he ſhould keep faith with thoſe who broke their promiſes, and could not be obliged by any league. Canuſius ſays, that when the ſenate decreed feſtivals and ſacrifices for this victory, Cato declared it to be his opinion,

For they were two works of a different nature. Cæſar's Ephemerides were journals wherein he minuted down every thing as it occurred day after day; and his commentaries are a regular hiſtory of his expeditions as they were performed annually. Theſe laſt are ὑπομνήματα, and the other ἐφημερίδες, Diaries. Plutarch therefore ought not to have confounded thoſe two works together.

opinion, that Cæsar ought to be given up into the hands of the barbarians; that so the guilt which this breach of faith might otherwise bring upon the publick, might be expiated by transferring the curse on him who was the occasion of it. Of those who past the Rhine there were four hundred thousand cut off; the few who escaped were sheltered by the Sicambri, a people of Germany.

(9) Cæsar took hold of this pretence to invade the Germans, being otherwise ambitious of glory, and especially of the honour of being the first man that should pass the Rhine with an army. He presently laid a bridge over it, though it was very wide, and in that place deeper than ordinary, and at the same time rough and rapid, carrying down with its stream trunks of trees, and other timber, which much shocked and weakened the foundations of his bridge; but he drove great piles of wood into the bottom of the river above the bridge, both to resist the impression of such bodies, and to break the force of the torrent; and by this means he finished his bridge in an incredibly short space of time, it being the work but of ten days. In the passage of his army over it, he met with no opposition, the Suevi themselves, who are the most warlike people of all Germany, flying with their effects into the closest and most woody part of the vales. When he had burnt all the enemy's country, and encouraged those who had remained firm to the Roman interest, he went back into Gaul, after eighteen days stay in Germany.

But his expedition into Britain gave the most signal

(9) The enemies horse, who were not at the engagement sheltered themselves among the Sicambri, to whom Cæsar sent his summons requiring them, to deliver up to him that body of horse which had engaged in a war against him; they replied that the Rhine was the boundary of the Roman empire in those parts, and that as he would not allow the Germans to pass that river without his consent, so it was not reasonable in him to extend his dominions beyond it.

(1) This army consisted of eight legions. He tells us himself, lib. v. that an excessive drought had caused a scarcity in the country, which constrained him

nal teſtimony of his courage; for he was the firſt who brought a navy into the weſtern ocean, or who ſailed through the Atlantick with an army to make war; and though the iſland is of ſo incredible an extent, that it had given room to many hiſtorians to diſpute, whether ſuch an iſland really exiſted, or whether it was a mere name and fiction; yet he attempted to conquer it, and to carry the Roman empire beyond the limits of the known world. He paſſed over thither twice from that part of Gaul which lies oppoſite to it, and in ſeveral battles which he fought, did more diſſervice to the enemy, than ſervice to himſelf; for the iſlanders were ſo miſerably poor, that they had nothing worth being plundered of. When he found himſelf unable to put ſuch an end to the war as he wiſhed, he was content to take hoſtages from the King, and to impoſe ſome taxes, and then quitted the iſland.

At his arrival in Gaul, he found letters which lay ready to be conveyed over the water to him, from his friends at Rome, to give him notice of his daughter's death, who died in labour of a child by Pompey. Both Cæſar and Pompey were much afflicted with her death; their friends too were greatly concerned, becauſe that alliance was now quite broken, which had hitherto kept the commonwealth in peace and tranquillity; for the child alſo died within a few days after the mother. The people took the body of Julia by force from the tribunes, and buried it in the Campus Martius.

(1) Cæſar's army was now grown very numerous, ſo

him to ſeparate his troops for their better ſubſiſtence, and that he did not quit them till he ſaw them well ſecured, and ſettled in their quarters. The only thing that can poſſibly be condemned in him was his fixing his quarters at too great a diſtance, which put it out of their power to aſſiſt one another in time, when there ſhould be occaſion. Cæſar ſeems to juſtify himſelf from that reproach in his fifth book, where he ſays that all thoſe legions, except one which was quartered at a greater diſtance, but in a quiet country, where no danger was to be feared, were poſted within the compaſs of an hundred miles;

ſo that he was forced to divide it into ſeveral parts for the convenience of winter-quarters; therefore when he was gone towards Italy according to his cuſtom, there was a ſudden inſurrection in Gaul, and great armies were on their march about the country, who attacked the Romans in their quarters, and attempted to make themſelves maſters of the forts where they lay. The greateſt and ſtrongeſt party of the rebels, under the command of Ambiorix, cut off Cotta and Titurius, with their army. After that the enemies inveſted a town, (where Quintus Cicero lay with his legion) with an army of ſixty thouſand men, and had almoſt taken it by ſtorm, the Roman ſoldiers in it being all wounded, and having quite ſpent themſelves by a vigorous defence beyond their natural ſtrength. But Cæſar, who was at a great diſtance, having received notice of this, quickly got together ſeven thouſand men, and haſtened to relieve Cicero. The beſiegers being informed of his march raiſed the ſiege, and went with all their forces to meet him, deſpiſing the ſmall number of his troops, and expecting an eaſy conqueſt. Cæſar, to nouriſh their preſumption, ſeemed to avoid fighting, and continued retreating as if he had been afraid of them, till he found a place conveniently ſituated for a few to engage againſt many, where he encamped. He reſtrained his ſoldiers from making any incurſion on the enemy, and commanded them to raiſe the ramparts ſtill higher and to barricade the gates, that by a ſhow of fear, they might heighten the enemy's contempt of them; till at laſt they came without any order in great ſecurity to make an attack, when he made a ſally, and put them to flight with the loſs of many men. This quieted the many commotions in thoſe parts of Gaul; and Cæſar made a progreſs during the winter through ſeveral parts of the

but the geographers find it to be of a larger extent.

(2) Plutarch paſſes over the whole ſixth book of Cæſar's commentaries, though it contains many conſiderable events that happened between the victory laſt mentioned and the affair

the country, and with great vigilance provided againſt all innovations. At that time three legions came to him to ſupply the place of thoſe he had loſt; two of theſe Pompey lent him out of thoſe under his command; the other was newly raiſed in that part of Gaul which is near the Po.

(2) After this the ſeeds of war, which had long ſince been ſecretly ſown and ſcattered in the more diſtant parts of that country by the moſt powerful men in thoſe warlike nations, ſhot up, and ripened into the greateſt and moſt dangerous war that ever broke out there, both for the number of men in the vigour of their youth, the quantity of arms which were gathered from all parts, the vaſt funds of money laid up for this purpoſe, the ſtrength of the towns, and the difficult ſituation of the country. It being winter, the rivers were frozen, the woods covered with ſnow, and the fields overflowed; ſo that in ſome places the road could not be diſcerned on account of the ſnow, and in others they were concealed by the overflowing of marſhes and brooks. All theſe difficulties made it ſeem impracticable to Cæſar to make any attempt upon the rebels. Many ſtates had revolted together; the chief of them were the Arverni and Carnutes; the general who had the ſupreme command was Vercingetorix, whoſe father the Gauls had put to death upon ſuſpicion of his aſpiring to abſolute power. He having diſpoſed his army in ſeveral bodies, and ſet officers over them, drew in to his intereſt all the countries round about as far as thoſe that lie upon the Arar; and having intelligence of the oppoſition which Cæſar met with at Rome, he thought to engage all Gaul in the war. And if he had done this a little later, when Cæſar was taken up with the civil wars, Italy had been thrown into as great a conſternation

affair with Vercingetorix, of which he is going to give an account, ſuch as the defeat of the Treviri, Cæſar's ſecond paſſage over the Rhine, and the purſuit of Ambiorix.

ſternation as it was before by the Cimbri. But at this time Cæſar, who was of a genius naturally fitted to make a right uſe of all advantages in war, but more eſpecially underſtood how to improve time, as ſoon as he heard of the revolt, returned immediately the ſame way he went, and ſhewed the barbarians, by the quickneſs of his march in ſuch a ſevere ſeaſon, that the army which was advancing againſt them was invincible. For in leſs time than one would have thought credible that a courier or expreſs ſhould have come ſo far, he appeared with all his army. In his march he ravaged the country, demoliſhed the forts, and received into his protection thoſe who declared for him; till at laſt the Hedui oppoſed him, who before had ſtyled themſelves brethren to the Romans, and had been much honoured by them; but now they joined the rebels, to the great diſcouragement of Cæſar's army. Wherefore he removed thence, and paſſed the country of the Lingones, being deſirous to reach the territories of the Sequani, who were his allies, and who are ſituated next to Italy upon the confines of Gaul. The enemy having followed him thither, attacked him, and ſurrounded his whole army with their vaſtly ſuperior numbers. He engaged them with great reſolution, and at length totally defeated them (3). But he ſeems to have received ſome check at firſt, for the Arverni ſhow to this day a ſword hanging up in one of their temples, which they ſay was taken from Cæſar. When it was ſhown him afterwards, he laughed at it, and when ſome of his friends were for having it taken down he would not ſuffer it, looking on it as a thing conſecrated.

After the defeat, a great part of thoſe who had eſcaped, fled with their King into a town called Aleſia, which Cæſar beſieged, though for the height of the walls

(3) This paſſage is very obſcure in the original and ſeems defective.

(4) Plutarch did not take this account

walls, and number of thoſe who were in garriſon, it ſeemed impregnable. During the ſiege, he found himſelf expoſed to greater danger than can be expreſſed. For the choiceſt men of Gaul, picked out of each nation, and well armed, came to relieve Aleſia, to the number of three hundred thouſand; nor were there in the town leſs than one hundred and ſeventy thouſand; ſo that Cæſar being ſhut up betwixt two ſuch armies, was forced to raiſe two walls, one toward the town, the other againſt the new ſupplies, as knowing that if theſe forces ſhould join, his affairs would be entirely ruined. The danger that he underwent before Aleſia, juſtly gained him great honour, and gave him an opportunity of ſhowing more ſignal inſtances of his valour and conduct, than any other battle ever did. One would wonder very much how he ſhould engage and defeat ſo many thouſands of men without the town, (4) and not be perceived by thoſe within; but much more, that the Romans themſelves, who guarded their wall which was next the town, ſhould be ſtrangers to it. For even they knew nothing of the victory, till they heard the cries of the men, and lamentations of the women, who were in the place, and had from thence ſeen the Romans at a diſtance carrying into their camp a great quantity of bucklers, adorned with gold and ſilver, many breaſtplates ſtained with blood, beſides cups and tents made after the Gallic mode. So ſoon was this vaſt army diſſipated, vaniſhing like a phantom or dream, the greateſt part of them being killed upon the ſpot. Thoſe who were in Aleſia, after they had given themſelves as well as Cæſar much trouble, ſurrendered at laſt: and Vercingetorix, who was the chief commander in the war, having put on his beſt armour, and adorned his horſe with the moſt magnificent trappings, rode out of the gates, and took a turn

account from Cæſar himſelf, who ſays that thoſe in the town had a diſtinct view of the battle.

(5) Dion

turn about Cæsar as he was sitting; then quitting his horse, he threw off his armour, and laid himself quietly at Cæsar's feet, who committed him to custody to be reserved for a triumph.

Cæsar had long since designed to ruin Pompey, and Pompey him; for Crassus, who was the only person capable, in case either of them was overpowered, to make head against the other, had hitherto kept them in due bounds; but he being now slain in Parthia, the one wanted nothing to make himself the greatest man in Rome, but the fall of him who was so; nor had the other any way to prevent his own ruin, but by being before hand with him whom he feared. Pompey indeed had not been long under such apprehensions, having till that time despised Cæsar, as thinking it no difficult matter to crush him whom he himself had advanced. But Cæsar had entertained this design from the beginning against his antagonist, and had retired like an expert wrestler, to prepare himself for the combat. He had improved the strength of his soldiery by exercising them in the Gallic wars, and had heightened his own glory by his great actions, so that he was now equal to Pompey in reputation and power. Nor did he let go any of those advantages which were now given him by Pompey himself, by the times, and the ill government of Rome, which was such that all who were candidates for offices publickly gave money, and without any shame bribed the people, who having received their pay, did not contend for their benefactors with their bare suffrages, but with bows, swords and slings; so that they seldom parted without having stained the place of election with the blood of men killed upon the spot, and the city was in a state of anarchy, like a ship without a pilot. The wiser part therefore wished that things which were carried on with so much tumult and fury, might end no worse than in a monarchy. Some were so bold as to declare openly, that the government was incurable but by a monarchy, and that they

they ought to take that remedy from the hands of the gentleſt phyſician, meaning Pompey; who though in words he pretended to decline it, yet in reality uſed his utmoſt efforts to be declared Dictator. Cato perceiving his deſign, prevailed with the ſenate to make him ſole Conſul, that he might not aim at the Dictatorſhip, being gratified with the offer of a more legal monarchy. They beſides voted him the continuance of his provinces; for he had two, Spain, and all Africa, which he governed by his deputies, and maintained armies under him, at the yearly charge of a thouſand talents out of the public treaſury. Upon this Cæſar alſo, by his proxies, demanded the Conſulſhip, and the continuance of his provinces. Pompey at firſt did not ſtir in it, but it was oppoſed by Marcellus and Lentulus, who had always hated Cæſar, and now did every thing, whether fit or unfit, which might diſgrace and expoſe him. For they took away the freedom of Rome from the Neocomians, who were a colony that Cæſar had lately planted in Gaul; and Marcellus being Conſul, ordered one of the ſenators of that city, then at Rome, to be whipt; and told him, "he laid "that mark upon him to let him know he was no citi-"zen of Rome," bidding him, "when he went back, to "ſhew it Cæſar."

After Marcellus's Conſulſhip was expired, Cæſar opened the treaſures he had been heaping up in Gaul, and ſuffered ſuch as had any weight or intereſt in the government to draw from thence what ſums they pleaſed. He diſcharged Curio, the tribune, from his great debts, and gave Paulus, then Conſul, one thouſand five hundred talents, with which he built a publick hall joining to the Forum, in the place where that of Fulvius had ſtood. Pompey jealous of theſe preparations, now openly made intereſt, both by himſelf and his friends, to have a ſucceſſor declared to Cæſar, and ſent to redemand thoſe ſoldiers whom he had lent him to carry on the war in Gaul. Cæſar readily diſmiſſed them, having firſt preſented each ſoldier with

two hundred and fifty Drachmas. Thoſe who conducted them to Pompey, ſpread amongſt the people no very favourable report of Cæſar, and flattered Pompey himſelf with falſe ſuggeſtions that he was wiſhed for by Cæſar's army; telling him that though his affairs at Rome were in an ill poſture, through the envy and craft of his enemies, yet there the army was at his command, and upon their firſt entrance into Italy would declare for him, ſo uneaſy were they under Cæſar, who had engaged them in ſo many hazardous expeditions, and ſo ſuſpicious of him as aſpiring to the monarchy. Upon this Pompey grew preſumptuous and careleſs, and neglected all warlike preparations, as fearing no danger, but attacked him with words and ſpeeches only, thinking to conquer by a majority of votes. But this Cæſar ſlighted: for it is ſaid, that one of his captains, who was ſent by him to Rome, ſtanding before the ſenate-houſe one day, and being told, that the ſenate would not give Cæſar a longer time in his government, clapped his hand on the hilt of his ſword, and ſaid, "But this ſhall." Yet the demands which Cæſar made appeared perfectly equitable; for he propoſed that both Pompey and he ſhould lay down their arms, that both ſhould become private men, and each expect a reward of his ſervices from the publick; ſaying that thoſe who diſarmed him, and at the ſame time confirmed Pompey's power, only ſuppreſſed the one to eſtabliſh the other in his tyranny. When Curio made theſe propoſals to the people in Cæſar's name, he was highly applauded, and ſome threw garlands upon him, and diſmiſſed him as they do wreſtlers, crowned with flowers. Antony, being then tribune, produced a letter ſent from Cæſar on this occaſion, and read it, though the Conſuls did what they could to oppoſe it.

But

(5) Dion ſays there was not a man for Pompey's diſbanding his troops, and that on the contrary they all voted that Cæſar ſhould diſmiſs his, except Cælius and Curio. And this is no wonder; Pompey was then at the gates of Rome with a powerful army, which

But Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, propoſed in the ſenate, that if Cæſar did not lay down his arms within ſuch a time, he ſhould be voted an enemy; and the Conſuls putting it to the queſtion, "Whether Pompey "ſhould diſmiſs his ſoldiers;" and again, "Whether "Cæſar ſhould diſband his;" (5) very few aſſented to the firſt, but almoſt all to the latter. But Antony propoſing again, that both ſhould lay down their commiſſions, all unanimouſly agreed to it. Scipio was upon this very violent, and Lentulus the Conſul cried aloud, "That they "had need of arms, and not of ſuffrages againſt a rob-"ber;" ſo that they were adjourned, and changed their robes in token of grief for the diſſenſion.

Afterwards there came other letters from Cæſar, which ſeemed yet more moderate; for he propoſed to quit every thing elſe, and only to have Gallia Ciſalpina, Illyricum, and two legions, till he ſhould ſtand a ſecond time for the Conſulſhip. Cicero the orator, who was lately returned from Cilicia, endeavoured to reconcile the differences, and ſoftened Pompey, who was willing to comply in other things, but not to allow him the ſoldiers. At laſt Cicero prevailed with Cæſar's friends, who were now more flexible, to accept of the provinces, and ſix thouſand ſoldiers only, and ſo to make up the quarrel. Pompey conſented to this, but Lentulus the Conſul would not hearken to it, but drove Antony and Curio (6) out of the ſenate houſe with diſgrace; by which they afforded Cæſar the faireſt pretence to inflame the ſoldiers, by ſhowing them two perſons of ſuch worth and authority, who were forced to eſcape in a common hired carriage, in the habits of ſlaves: for ſo they diſguiſed themſelves when they fled out of Rome. Cæſar had not with him at that time above three hundred horſe, and five thouſand foot; for the reſt of his army, which

which was an effectual means to carry a majority in the ſenate.

(6) Inſtead of Curio it ſhould be read Quintus Caſſius, as appears from what Plutarch himſelf ſays in the life of Antony, and Cæſar in the firſt book of the civil war.

(7) He

which was left on the other side of the Alps, was to be brought after him by persons commissioned for that purpose. But he thought that to begin the design which he had then on foot, did not require many forces, and that he ought to take his first step so suddenly, that the adverse party should be astonished at his courage; for he esteemed it easier to astonish them, if he came unawares, than fairly to conquer them, if he had alarmed them by his preparations. He therefore commanded his captains and other officers, to go only with their swords in their hands, without any other arms, and make themselves masters of Ariminum, a considerable city of Gaul, with as little noise and bloodshed as possible. He committed the care of the army to Hortensius, and spent the day in publick, and was a spectator of some combats of gladiators. A little before night he bathed, and then went into the hall, and conversed for some time with those he had invited to supper. When it began to grow dusky, he rose from table, and having complimented the company, he desired them to stay till he came back, which he said, he should do very speedily. He had before this given private orders to some of his most intimate friends to follow him, not all the same way, but some one way, some another, to avoid observation. He himself got into a hired carriage, and drove at first another way, but on a sudden turned towards Ariminum.

When he was come to the river Rubicon, which parts the Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, his mind began to be in great agitation, now he was just entering upon danger; and he wavered much in his resolution, when he considered coolly the difficulty of the attempt. This stopt his career for a while, and made him halt. Sometimes he stood meditating silently in the utmost fluctuation and uncertainty, every moment changing his opinion; sometimes he debated the matter very particularly with his friends who were about him, (of which number Asinius Pollio was one

one) computing how many calamities his paſſing that river would bring upon mankind, and repreſenting what an account of it would be tranſmitted to poſterity. At laſt, rouſing with a ſudden ſtart of courage, he reſolved to deliberate no more, but to commit himſelf to fortune, uſing the proverb frequently in the mouths of thoſe who attempt bold and deſperate enterprizes, "The dieis caſt;" with which words he paſſed the river. He then marched with ſuch expedition that before it was day he reached Ariminum, and took it. It is ſaid, that the night before he paſſed the river, he had an impious dream for he dreamed that he committed inceſt with his own mother. As ſoon as Ariminum was taken, there was as it were a wide gate opened to war both by ſea and land; for the limits of the provinces being tranſgreſſed, a total ſubverſion of the laws followed. It ſeemed now that not the inhabitants only, as at other times, fled from place to place through fear and conſternation, but that the very towns themſelves left their ſtations, and fled for ſuccour to each other. So that the city of Rome was over-run as it were with a deluge, by the conflux of people from all parts round about; and in ſuch a tumult and confuſion it could neither be governed by the authority of its magiſtrates, nor be quieted by eloquence and perſuaſion, but was in danger of ſinking by its own weight; the oppoſition of paſſions and intereſts producing continually the moſt violent commotions. For thoſe who were pleaſed with theſe changes would not remain quiet, but frequently meeting, as in ſo great a city they neceſſarily muſt, with ſuch as ſhowed themſelves fearful and dejected, occaſioned perpetual quarrels by their great confidence and preſumption.

Pompey, though ſufficiently of himſelf diſturbed, was yet more perplexed by the clamours of others; ſome telling him that he juſtly ſuffered for having ſtrengthened Cæſar's power to his own ruin and that of the commonwealth; others blaming him for permitting

mitting Cæsar to be insolently used by Lentulus, when he made so large concessions, and offered such reasonable proposals towards an accommodation. Favonius bad him "now stamp upon the ground;" for once boasting in the senate, he desired them not to trouble themselves about making any preparations for the war; "for he himself, if Cæsar should come, would "with one stamp of his foot fill all Italy with soldiers." Yet still Pompey had more forces than Cæsar; but he was not permitted to pursue his own determination; but being continually alarmed with terrifying and false reports, as if the enemy was just at the gates and in possession of all, he was forced to give way, and was borne down by the common cry. He therefore declaring by an edict the state to be in danger, left the city, commanding the senators to follow him, and forbidding any to stay behind who would not be thought to prefer tyranny to their country and their liberty. The consuls presently fled, without offering the usual sacrifices; most of the senators hastily carrying off whatever came first to hand of their own goods, just as if they had been plundering their neighbours. Some, who before were strongly attached to Cæsar, were so terrified that they quitted their own sentiments, and without any necessity were carried along by the common stream. It was a very melancholy view to see the city tost in these tumults, like a ship whose pilot has given her over, and despairs of hindering her from striking on the next rock. Those who left the city, though their departure was on so sad an occasion, yet esteemed the place of their exile to be their country for Pompey's sake, and fled from Rome, as if it had been Cæsar's camp. At the same time Labienus, a person who had been one of Cæsar's best friends, and his lieutenant, and one who had fought under him very bravely in the Gallic wars, deserted him, and went over to Pompey. Cæsar sent all his money and equipage after him, and then laid siege to Corfinium, which was garrisoned with thirty

cohorts

cohorts under the command of Domitius. He in deſpair ordered a ſlave of his, who was his phyſician, to give him ſome poiſon. The ſlave accordingly gave him a doſe, which he ſwallowed in hopes of being diſpatched by it: But ſoon after, when he was told that Cæſar behaved with wonderful clemency towards thoſe he took priſoners, he lamented his misfortune, and blamed the haſtineſs of his own reſolution. But his phyſician encouraged him, by telling him that he had taken a ſleeping, not a poiſonous potion; with this he was very much pleaſed, and riſing from his bed, went preſently over to Cæſar, who pardoned him; but he afterwards revolted to Pompey.

When theſe things came to be known at Rome, the ſpirits of ſuch as remained in the city were wonderfully raiſed, and many of thoſe who had fled returned to their habitations. In the mean time Cæſar's army being thus reinforced by Domitius's ſoldiers, as likewiſe by thoſe Pompey had placed in garriſon in the ſeveral towns in thoſe parts, became now ſo ſtrong and formidable, that he advanced againſt Pompey himſelf, who did not ſtay for his coming, but fled to Brunduſium; and having ſent the Conſuls before with the army to Dyrrachium, he ſoon after, upon Cæſar's approach, put to ſea, as ſhall be more particularly mentioned in his life. Cæſar would have immediately purſued him, but wanted ſhipping, and therefore went back to Rome, having without bloodſhed made himſelf maſter of all Italy in the ſpace of ſixty days. When he came thither, he found the city more quiet than he expected, and many ſenators upon the place, to whom he addreſſed himſelf with great courteſy and deference, deſiring them to ſend to Pompey to treat of an accommodation upon reaſonable conditions. But no body complied with this propoſal; whether out of fear of Pompey, whom they had deſerted, or becauſe they thought Cæſar did not mean what he ſaid, but only ſpoke thus to preſerve an appearance of candour and moderation. Afterwards, when

when Metellus the tribune would have hindered him from taking money out of the publick treasury, and quoted some laws against it, Cæsar replied, "Arms and "Laws do not well agree; and if you are displeased with "my conduct, retreat quietly, for war will not admit "such freedom of speech. When I have laid down my "arms, and entered into terms of peace, then come and "harangue as you please: And this I tell you in dimi-"nution of my own just right, for indeed you are my "subjects, as are all those who have appeared against me, "and are now in my power." Having said this to Metellus, he went to the doors of the treasury, and the keys being not to be found, he sent for smiths to force them open. Metellus again making resistance, and some encouraging him in it, Cæsar raising his voice, threatened to kill him, if he gave him any farther disturbance: "And "this," said he, "you know, young man, is harder for me "to say than do." These words made Metellus withdraw for fear, and gave Cæsar an opportunity of being easily and readily supplied with all things necessary for the war.

Soon after this he marched into Spain, with a resolution first to remove Afranius and Varro, Pompey's lieutenants, and to make himself master of the army and provinces under them, which when he had done, he thought he then might more securely advance against Pompey, when he had no enemy left behind him. In this expedition his person was often in danger from ambuscades, and his army from want of provisions; however he did not desist from pursuing the enemy, provoking them to fight, and besieging them, till by main force he made himself master of their camps, and their forces: Only the officers got off, and fled to Pompey.

When Cæsar came back to Rome, Piso his father-in-law advised him to send messengers to Pompey, to treat of a peace; but Isauricus, to ingratiate himself with

(7) He sent them back under the conduct of Calenus. But he sailing too late lost the opportunity of the wind, and fell in with Bibulus, who took thirty of his ships, upon which he vented his

with Cæsar, spoke against it. Cæsar after this being chosen Dictator by the senate, immediately called home the exiles, restored to their honours and privileges the children of such as had suffered under Sylla, and eased those who were in debt by retrenching some part of the interest. He also made some other regulations of the same nature, but not many: for within eleven days he resigned his dictatorship, and having declared himself Consul with Servilius Isauricus set out to prosecute the war. He marched so fast, that he left all his army behind him, except six hundred chosen horse, and five legions, with which he put to sea in the very middle of winter, about the beginning of the month January, which the Athenians call Posideon, and having past the Ionian sea took Oricum and Apollonia, (7) and sent back the ships to Brundusium, to bring over the soldiers that were left behind in the march. These soldiers, whose bodies were enfeebled and whose spirits were exhausted by the number of battles they had fought, as they marched along uttered their complaints against Cæsar after this manner: "When at last, and where will Cæsar let us be quiet? "He carries us from place to place, and uses us as if "we were invulnerable and insensible. Even iron itself is "worn out by blows, and bucklers and breast-plates that "have been so long used require some respite. Doth not "Cæsar gather from our wounds, that we are mortal men "whom he commands, and that we are subject to the same "calamities and diseases as other mortals are? It is im-"possible even for a God to force the winter season, or to "hinder the storms, when they rage; yet he pushes for-"ward, as if he were not pursuing, but flying from an "enemy." This was their discourse as they marched leisurely towards Brundusium. But when they came thither, and found that Cæsar was gone off before them, they changed their sentiments, and reproached themselves

his rage, for he burnt them all purpose to intimidate the rest, with their pilots and sailors, on Cæs. lib. iii.

(8) This

themſelves as traitors to their general. They now railed at their officers for marching ſo ſlowly, and placing themſelves on the promontaries by the ſea-ſide over-againſt Epirus, looked out endeavouring to deſcry the veſſels which were to tranſport them to Cæſar. He in the mean time was poſted in Apollonia, but had not an army with him able to fight the enemy, the forces from Brunduſium being ſo long in coming. In this diſtreſs and perplexity he ventured upon a dangerous project, which was to go in a veſſel of twelve oars, without any one's knowledge, to Brunduſium, though the ſea was at that time covered with a vaſt fleet of the enemy. He embarked in the night-time in the habit of a ſlave, and throwing himſelf down like ſome inconſiderable perſon, lay along at the bottom of the veſſel. The river (8) Anius was to carry them down to the ſea; and there uſed to blow a gentle gale every morning from the land, which made it very calm towards the mouth of the river, by driving the waves forward; but that night there ſprung a ſtrong wind from the ſea, which overpowered that from the land; ſo that by the violence of the ſtream, and the reſiſtance of the ſea againſt it, the river became very rough, the waves daſhing together with a great noiſe, and forming ſuch dangerous eddies, that the pilot could not make good his paſſage, but ordered his ſailors to turn back. Cæſar upon this diſcovered himſelf, and taking the pilot by the hand, who was ſurprized to ſee him there, ſaid, "Go on boldly, my friend, and fear nothing; thou carrieſt "Cæſar and Cæſar's fortune along with thee. The mariners, when they heard that, forgot the ſtorm; and laying all their ſtrength to their oars, did what they could to force their way down the river. But when it was to no purpoſe, and the veſſel now took in much water,

(8) This is a river in Epire, Strabo calls it Aous, and ſays it ran within ten furlongs of Apollonia.

(9) Antony and Calenus embarked on board the veſſels which had eſcaped Bibulus, eight hundred horſe, and four legions, that

ter, Cæsar finding himself in so great danger in the very mouth of the river, permitted the master, though much against his will, to turn back. When he was returned to his camp his soldiers ran to him in whole troops, and expressed how much they were concerned, that he should think himself not strong enough to get a victory by their sole assistance, but would give himself so much anxiety and run so great a hazard for the sake of those who were absent, as if he could not trust to them who were with him.

Soon after this, (9) Antony came over with the forces from Brundusium. which encouraged Cæsar to give Pompey battle, though he was encamped very advantageously, and furnished with plenty of provisions by sea and land, whilst he himself, who at first had been but ill stocked, was now at last extremely pinched for want of necessaries; so that his soldiers were forced to dig a kind of a root which grew there, and tempering it with milk, to feed on it. Sometimes they made loaves of it, and in their incursions on the enemy's out-guards would throw in those loaves, telling them, that "as long as the earth produced such roots "they would not cease to besiege Pompey." But Pompey took what care he could, that neither the loaves, nor the words, should reach the rest of his men; for they already were disheartened at the fierceness and hardiness of their enemies, and looked upon them as partaking of the savage nature of wild beasts. There were continual skirmishes about Pompey's trenches, in all which Cæsar had the better, except one; when his men were forced to fly in such a manner, that he had like to have lost his camp. For Pompey made such a vigorous sally on them, that not one of them stood his ground; the trenches were filled with dead bodies; and many fell upon their own ramparts, being closely

that is, three old ones, and one that had been newly raised; and when they were landed, Antony sent back the ships to transport the rest of the forces that were left behind.

cloſely purſued by the enemy. Cæſar met them, and would have turned them back, but could not. When he went to lay hold of the colours, (1) thoſe who carried them threw them down, ſo that the enemies took thirty-two of them. He himſelf narrowly eſcaped with his life; for taking hold of a tall luſty ſoldier that was flying by him, he bid him ſtand, and face about; but the fellow full of apprehenſions from the danger he was in, began to handle his ſword as if he would ſtrike Cæſar; and he would have done it, had not Cæſar's armour-bearer prevented the blow, by chopping off his arm.

Cæſar's affairs were ſo deſperate at that time, that when Pompey, either through fear, or his ill fortune, did not give the finiſhing ſtroke to that great action, but retreated after he had ſhut up the enemy within their camp, Cæſar, upon his return, ſaid to his friends, "The victory to day had been on our enemies ſide, if "they had had a general who knew how to conquer. When he was retired into his tent, he laid himſelf down to ſleep; but that night was the moſt melancholy that he ever ſpent; he being perplext and diſtreſſed in his thoughts for his ill conduct in this war: for when he had a large country before him, and all the wealthy cities of Macedonia and Theſſaly, he had neglected to carry the war thither, and had ſat down by the ſea-ſide, whilſt his enemies had ſuch a powerful fleet; ſo that he ſeemed rather to be beſieged with want of neceſſaries, than to beſiege others with his arms. Being thus diſtracted in his thoughts by the view of the ill poſture of his affairs, he raiſed his camp, with a deſign to advance towards Scipio, who lay in Macedonia; for he hoped either to draw Pompey where he muſt fight without the advantage he now had of ſupplies

(1) What Plutarch mentions here did not happen at the time when Pompey attacked the entrenchments, but at another attack which Cæſar made upon a poſt, where he underſtood that one of Pompey's legions lay. This proved a ſharp engagement; and Cæſar was worſted, not ſo much by the valour of the enemy, as the ſeparation

plies from the sea, or to overpower Scipio, who would not be able to withstand him alone. This animated Pompey's army and officers so far, that they were for pursuing Cæsar, as one that was worsted and flying. But Pompey was afraid to hazard a battle on which so much depended; and being himself provided with all necessaries for a considerable time, he thought to tire out, and waste the vigour of Cæsar's army, which could not last long; for his best soldiers, though they had much experience, and shewed an irresistible courage in all engagements, yet were incapacitated by age to bear the fatigue of their frequent marches, changing their camps, assaulting of towns, and long watches; their bodies were become feeble and inactive, and their alacrity failed with their strength. Besides, it is said, that a pestilential disease, occasioned by their irregular diet, raged in Cæsar's army; and what was of greatest moment, he was neither furnished with money nor provisions, so that in a little time he must needs fall of himself. For these reasons Pompey had no mind to fight him; but he was commended for it by none but Cato, who was zealous to preserve his fellow citizens. For when he saw the dead bodies of those who had fallen in the last battle on Cæsar's side to the number of a thousand, he went away, covered his face and wept. The rest reproached and teased Pompey for declining to fight, calling him Agamemnon and the King of Kings, to insinuate that he had no mind to lay down his sovereign authority, but was pleased to see so many great commanders waiting on him, and paying their attendance at his tent. Favonius, who affected Cato's freedom of speech, complained bitterly, that they should eat no figs that year at Tusculum, because of Pompey's ambition.

separation of his own troops, the disadvantage of the place, and the disorder among his soldiers. He says himself, that in these two attacks he lost nine hundred and sixty foot and four hundred horse, among whom were several Roman knights, and thirty tribunes and centurions. Lib. iii.

ambition. Afranius, who was lately returned out of Spain, and by reaſon of the ill campaign he had made, was ſuſpected by Pompey to have betrayed the army for money, aſked him, "Why he did not fight that mer-"chant, who had brought his provinces?" Pompey was compelled by this kind of language to give Cæſar battle, though againſt his own ſentiments, and in order to it purſued him.

Cæſar had found great difficulties in his march; for no country would ſupply him with proviſions, his reputation being very much ſunk ſince his laſt defeat. But when he had taken (2) Gomphi, a town of Theſſaly, by aſſault, his ſoldiers not only found proviſions, but alſo a very ſingular remedy for their diſtempers. For meeting there with plenty of wine they drank freely of it, and indulged themſelves afterwards in revelling and rioting as they marched along; and this high living ſo altered their whole habit of body, that they were delivered from the maladies which had hitherto oppreſſed them.

When the two armies came into Pharſalia, and were encamped there, Pompey returned to his former ſentiments, and the rather becauſe he had had a dream which ſeemed a very unfavourable preſage (3). His friends however were very confident of ſucceſs, and anticipated the victory in their imaginations, ſo that (4) Domitius, Spinther, and Scipio, quarrelled which ſhould ſucceed Cæſar in the pontificate: and many ſent to Rome to take houſes fit to accommodate Conſuls and Prætors, as being ſure of entering upon thoſe offices as ſoon as the battle was over. The cavalry, eſpecially

(2) Androphenus, or Androſthenes commanded in the place. Cæſar, who ſaw how material it was to his ſervice to make himſelf maſter of it before Pompey or Scipio could come up to relieve it, was no ſooner arrived but he attacked it on every ſide at once. The aſſault began about three in the afternoon, and though the walls were very high he carried it before ſun ſet.

(3) See the life of Pompey, p. 200.

(4) Cæſar has put this conteſt in a very ridiculous light, as may be ſeen in the Remarks upon

eſpecially were eager to fight, priding themſelves on the ſplendor of their arms, the good condition of their horſes, the comelineſs of their perſons, and the ſuperiority of their number, for they were ſeven thouſand againſt one thouſand of Cæſar's. Nor was their infantry better matched, there being forty-five thouſand of Pompey's againſt twenty-two thouſand of the enemy. Cæſar aſſembled his ſoldiers, and told them that "Cornificius was coming up to them with two le-"gions, and that fifteen cohorts more under Calenus "were poſted at Megara and Athens;" he aſked them, "whether they would ſtay till they joined them, or "would hazard the battle by themſelves." They all beſought him not to delay, but to contrive if poſſible to entice the enemy to an engagement. When he was ſacrificing for the luſtration of his army, upon the death of the firſt victim the Augur told him, that within three days he ſhould come to a deciſive action. Cæſar aſked him, "Whether he ſaw any thing in the entrails, which "promiſed an happy event?" "That, ſaid the prieſt, "you can beſt anſwer yourſelf; for the Gods ſignify a "a great alteration in the preſent poſture of affairs; if "therefore you think yourſelf happy now, expect worſe "fortune; if unhappy, hope for better." The night before the battle, as he walked the rounds about midnight, he ſaw a light in the air reſembling a torch flaming with great brightneſs, which ſeemed to paſs over his camp, and fall into Pompey's; and when Cæſar's ſoldiers came to relieve the watch in the morning, they perceived a panick tumult among the enemies, (5) However he was ſo far from expecting to fight that day that he

upon the life of Pompey. Their thoughts ran not ſo much upon conquering, as on the manner of ſharing and enjoying the fruits of their conqueſts.

(5) Cæſar perceiving there was no attacking Pompey, who was commodiouſly poſted on the higher ground, without great diſadvantage, and deſpairing to draw him to an engagement, thought it moſt convenient to remove, hoping by his frequent decampings to provide better for his troops, and harraſs his enemies, and perhaps obtain a favourable opportunity of fighting, which indeed happened ſooner than he expected, for

he gave the ſignal for decamping, and deſigned to march towards Scotuſa. But when the tents were taken down, his ſcouts rode up to him, and told him the enemy were coming down in order to give him battle. With this he was very much pleaſed, and having performed his devotions to the Gods, he drew up his army, dividing it into three bodies. Domitius Calvinus commanded the center, Antony the left wing, and he himſelf the right. being reſolved to fight at the head of the tenth legion. But when he ſaw the enemy's cavalry draw up againſt him, being ſtruck with their number and magnificent appearance, he gave orders that ſix cohorts from the rear of the army ſhould ſecretly advance to him; theſe he poſted behind the right wing, and inſtructed them what they ſhould do, when the enemy's horſe came to charge. On the other ſide, (6) Pompey commanded the right wing, Domitius the left, and Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, the main body. The whole weight of the cavalry was in the left wing, for they deſigned to encompaſs the right of the enemy, and preſs that part moſt which the General himſelf commanded, thinking that no body of foot could be ſo deep as to bear ſuch a ſhock, but that they muſt neceſſarily be broken to pieces upon the firſt impreſſion of ſo ſtrong a body of cavalry. When they were ready on both ſides to give the ſignal for battle, Pompey commanded his foot who were in the front to ſtand their ground, and without breaking their order, receive quietly the enemy's firſt attack, till they came with javelin's caſt. Cæſar blamed this conduct, and ſaid, Pompey was not aware

they had hardly ſtruck their tents when they obſerved Pompey marching out of his entrenchments.

(6) Cæſar tells us the quite contrary; he ſays Pompey was on the left. "Pompey was on the "left wing with the two legions "ſent back to him by Cæſar. On "the right was poſted the le- "gion of Cilicia with the co- "horts brought by Afranius out "of Spain, which he eſteemed the "flower of his army; Scipio com- "manded the main body which "was compoſed of the Syrian legi- "ons." He does not name the officer who had the command on the

aware that the firſt charge, if it is briſk and fierce, gives weight to every ſtroke, and inflames the courage of the ſoldiers, the reſolution of each being animated and encreaſed by the rapid motion of the whole army. He was now advancing with his forces, and juſt ready to engage, when he found one of his captains, a truſty and experienced ſoldier, encouraging his men to exert themſelves to the utmoſt. Cæſar called him by his name, and ſaid, "What hopes, "Caius Craſſinius? How ſtands our courage?" Craſſinius ſtretched out his hand, and cried with a loud voice, "We ſhall conquer nobly, Cæſar, and this day I will de- "ſerve your praiſes either alive or dead." With theſe words he immediately ran in upon the enemy at the head of his company, conſiſting of a hundred and twenty men, where he did great execution, and was ſtill preſſing forwards and forcing his way, when he received a wound in his mouth from a ſword puſhed with ſuch force that the point came out at the nape of his neck.

Whilſt the foot was thus engaged in the main battle, Pompey's horſe advanced from the left wing with great confidence of ſucceſs, and opened their ranks very wide, that they might ſurround the right wing of Cæſar: (7) But before they could engage, the ſix cohorts which Cæſar had poſted in the rear, made up to them, and did not dart their javelins at a diſtance, nor ſtrike at their thighs and legs as they uſed to do in cloſe engagement, but aimed at their faces; for thus Cæſar had inſtructed them, in hopes that thoſe gay

the right, unleſs he would have it underſtood to be Afranius.

(7) What Plutarch tells us here that the ſix cohorts of Cæſar fell upon Pompey's horſe without giving them time to engage, is contradicted by Cæſar himſelf, who ſays, that they engaged his right wing and obliged his cavalry to give ground. "Eodem tempore "Equites a ſiniſtro Pompeii Cor- "nu, ut erat imperatum, uni- "verſi procurrêrunt, omnisque "multitudo Sagittariorum ſe pro- "fudit; quorum impetum noſter "Equitatus non tulit, ſed Paulum "loco motus ceſſit, &c." Lib. iii. de bel. civil.

gay young men who were in the flower of their age and height of their beauty, and who had not been uſed to battles and wounds, would not ſtand an attack of this kind, nor bear at the ſame time the ſhock of the preſent danger, and the apprehenſion of future deformity. This deſign ſucceeded; for they were ſo far from bearing the ſtrokes of the javelins, that they could not ſtand the ſight of them, but turned about, and covered their faces to ſave them. Having thus broke their ranks they fled away in great confuſion, by which they occaſioned the ruin of the whole army; for thoſe cohorts, as ſoon as they had broke and diſperſed them, immediately ſurrounded the infantry, and charging them in the rear ſoon cut them to pieces.

Pompey, who commanded the other wing of the army, when he ſaw his cavalry thus broken and flying, was no longer himſelf, nor did he now remember that he was Pompey the Great; but like one whom the Gods had deprived of his ſenſes, and ſtruck with ſome fatal blow, he retired to his tent without ſpeaking a word, and there ſat ſtill, expecting the event, till the whole army was defeated, and the enemy appeared upon the ramparts, where they cloſely engaged with his men who were poſted there to defend them. Then he firſt ſeemed to have recovered his ſenſes, and cried out, "What, into my camp too?" and without ſaying any thing more, he laid aſide his General's habit, and putting on ſuch cloaths as might beſt favour his flight, privately made his eſcape. What fortune he met with afterwards, how he went for ſhelter to Egypt, and was murdered there, we ſhall particularly relate in his life.

Cæſar, when he came to view Pompey's camp, and ſaw ſo many of his enemies dead upon the ground, and others dying, ſaid with a ſigh, "This they would have

(8) Cæſar ſays there fell about fifteen thouſand of the enemy, and that he took above twenty-four thouſand priſoners; that he took eight eagles, and a hundred and eighty ſtandards; and that

" have; to this neceſſity they reduced me; and Caius " Cæſar after ſo many important victories obtained, " would have been judged and condemned as a criminal, " had he diſbanded his army." Aſinius Pollio ſays, that Cæſar ſpoke thoſe words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greek; that thoſe who were killed at the taking of the camp, were moſt of them ſlaves; and that in the battle (8) there fell not above ſix thouſand ſoldiers. Cæſar incorporated moſt of the foot whom he took priſoners, in his own legions, and pardoned ſeveral perſons of quality, and amongſt the reſt Brutus, who afterwards killed him. Brutus did not immediately appear after the battle was over, which gave Cæſar great uneaſineſs; but he was extremely pleaſed when he ſaw him ſafe, ſurrendering himſelf to him. There were many prodigies that foretold this victory; but the moſt ſignal was that at Tralles. In the temple of Victory there was a ſtatue of Cæſar; the ſoil on which the temple ſtood was naturally hard and dry, and the pavement was of very hard ſtone; yet it is ſaid that a palm-tree ſhot up near the pedeſtal of this ſtatue. In the city of Padua, one Caius Cornelius, a man well ſkilled in divination, and a fellow-citizen and friend of Livy the hiſtorian, happened to be making ſome obſervations on the flight of birds that very day when the battle was fought: and firſt, he pointed out the exact time of the battle, and ſaid to thoſe who were by him, " Now the conteſt is approaching to its deciſion, " and the men are engaged." When he looked a ſecond time upon the birds, and obſerved the omens, he leaped as if he had been inſpired, and cried out, " Thou, " Cæſar, art the conqueror." This greatly ſurprized the ſtanders-by; but he took the crown which he had on, from his head, and ſwore " he would never wear " it again till the event ſhould give authority to his art." This Livy affirms for a truth.

Cæſar, as a monument of his victory, gave the Theſſalians

that on his ſide the loſs amounted to no more than about two hundred ſoldiers, and thirty centurions.

(9) But

Theſſalians their liberty, and then went in purſuit of Pompey. When he was arrived in Aſia, to gratify Theopompus, who had made a collection of fables, he enfranchiſed the Cnidians his countrymen, and remitted one third of the taxes to all the Aſiatics. When he came to Alexandria, where Pompey was already murdered, he turned from Theodotus, who preſented him with his head, but took his ſignet and wept over it. Thoſe of Pompey's friends who had been taken by the king of Egypt as they were ſtraggling in thoſe parts, he treated with great kindneſs and brought over to his intereſt. He wrote letters to Rome, wherein he ſignified to his friends, that "the greateſt "advantage and pleaſure he found by the victory was, "that he every day ſaved the lives of ſome Romans, "who had been in arms againſt him." As to the war in Egypt, ſome ſay it was dangerous and diſhonourable, and not at all neceſſary, but occaſioned only by his paſſion for Cleopatra: others blamed the miniſters, and eſpecially the eunuch Photinus, who was the king's chief favourite, who had lately put Pompey to death, and baniſhed Cleopatra, and was now contriving privately the deſtruction of Cæſar; to prevent which, Cæſar from that time began to ſit up whole nights under a pretence of drinking, for the greater ſecurity of his perſon. It is certain, that he was intolerably and openly inſolent to Cæſar, both in his words and actions; for when Cæſar's ſoldiers had muſty and unwholſome corn meaſured out to them, Photinus told them, they muſt take it, and be contented, ſince they were fed at another's coſt. He ordered that the king's table ſhould be ſerved with wooden and earthen diſhes, and ſaid, Cæſar had all the gold and ſilver in pawn for a debt. For the preſent king's father owed Cæſar ſeventeen millions five hundred thouſand Drachmas. Cæſar had formerly remitted to his children

(9) But he was in more imminent danger before that, when he was attacked in the palace by Achillas, who had made himſelf maſter of Alexandria. Cæſar gives us a deſcription of this

dren the reſt, but thought fit to demand the ten millions at that time, to maintain his army. Photinus adviſed him to go away for the preſent and take care of his more important affairs, telling him that when he had finiſhed them he might return, and would receive the money with thanks beſides. Cæſar replied, that "he did not want Egyptians to be his counſellors," and ſoon after privately ſent for Cleopatra from her retirement. That princeſs accompanied only with Apollodorus the Sicilian got into a little ſkiff, and in the duſk of the evening landed near the palace. When ſhe found it would be almoſt impoſſible to get in without being diſcovered, ſhe bethought herſelf of this ſtratagem: ſhe rolled herſelf up in a carpet, where ſhe lay at her full length, and Apollodorus, having tied it faſt round, carried it on his back through the caſtle-gates to Cæſar's apartment. Cæſar was firſt ſtruck with this contrivance of Cleopatra, which was an argument of her wit; and he was afterwards ſo charmed with her converſation and graceful behaviour, that he reconciled her to her brother, and made her partner in the government. A feſtival was kept for joy of this reconciliation; and Cæſar's barber, a fellow whoſe exceſſive fear made him ever upon his watch, ſo that he was continually prying into all corners of the court, and liſtening with reſtleſs curioſity and anxiety after every thing that paſſed there, diſcovered that a plot was carrying on againſt Cæſar by Achillas, General of the King's forces, and Photinus the eunuch. Cæſar upon the firſt intelligence of it ſet a guard upon the hall where the feaſt was kept, and killed Photinus. Achillas eſcaped to the army, and raiſed a very dangerous war againſt Cæſar, who had enough to do to defend himſelf with a very ſmall force againſt a ſtrong city on the one hand, and a powerful army on the other. (9) The firſt difficulty he met with, was want

this action towards the latter end of the third book of the civil wars.

(1) Alex-

want of water (1); for the enemies had turned the pipes. Another was, the loſs of his fleet, which he was forced to burn himſelf, to prevent its falling into the enemy's hands; and the flames unluckily ſpread ſo far as to deſtroy the famous library of Alexandria. (2) A third was, that in an engagement near Pharos he leaped from the mole into a ſkiff, to aſſiſt his ſoldiers who were in danger: when the Egyptians preſſed him on every ſide, he threw himſelf into the ſea, and with much difficulty ſwam off. It is ſaid that at the time when he flung himſelf into the ſea he had many papers in his hand, which, though he was continually darted at, and forced to keep his head often under water, yet he did not let go, but held them up ſafe from wetting in one hand, whilſt he ſwam with the other. In the mean time his ſkiff, which he had juſt quitted, ſunk with all that were on board. At laſt the King having joined Achillas and his party, Cæſar engaged and conquered them; many fell in that battle, and the King himſelf was never ſeen afterwards.

Upon this, (3) he made Cleopatra Queen of Egypt, who ſoon after had a ſon by him, whom the Alexandrians called Cæſario; and then he departed for Syria. Thence he paſſed into Aſia, where he heard that Domitius

(1) Alexandria was vaulted underneath, and full of aqueducts, wherein they received the water from the Nile, and from thence conveyed it to the houſes of the inhabitants, who kept it in reſervoirs and ciſterns, where it grew fine, and became fit for uſe. The maſters of thoſe houſes and their families drank of that water, but the common people were forced to drink the running water, which was foul and unhealthy, for there were no ſprings or fountains in the city. As the river was in the power of the enemy, they reſolved to cut the water off from Cæſar: to this end they ſtopped up all the conduits through which it was conveyed into that part of the town which was in his poſſeſſion; and not content with that they were at the pains by the help of wheels and machines to raiſe the ſea-water, and power it down upon Cæſar's reſervoirs and ciſterns. This diſtreſſed them very much at firſt, but they ſoon found out a remedy; for Cæſar ordered them to dig for wells, and they went

ſo

mitius Calvinus, whom he had appointed Governor of Asia Minor, was overthrown by Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, and forced to fly out of Pontus with an handful of men; and that Pharnaces pursued the victory so eagerly, that he was already master of Bithynia and Cappadocia, and was preparing to invade Armenia the less; in order to which he invited all the kings and tetrarchs in those parts to rise, and unite against the Romans. Cæsar immediately marched against him with three legions, fought him near (4) Zella, drove him out of Pontus, and totally destroyed his army. When he gave Amintius, a friend of his at Rome, an account of this action, to express the quickness and dispatch of it, he used these words, "I came, I saw, I "conquered;" which in Latin being expressed by three words only all of the same form and termination, have a gracefulness and brevity not easily to be imitated in another language. Hence he set out for Italy, and came to Rome at the end of that year for which he had been a second time chosen dictator, (though that office had never before been annual) and was elected consul for the next. However he was very much condemned, because when some of his soldiers had in mutiny killed Cosconius and Galba, who had been prætors, he punished them no otherwise

so chearfully about it, laying aside all other business, that in a night's time they met with a sufficient quantity of fresh water, which rendered all the pains the enemy had been at ineffectual. Cæs. Bell. Alex.

(2) Plutarch in this place confounds facts, which deserve to be distinguished, and related particularly. At first there was a general naval engagement. After this Cæsar attacked the island, and last of all the mole, and it was in this attack Cæsar was under the difficulty mentioned here by Plutarch.

(3) Cæsar did not confer the crown of Egypt on Cleopatra solely, but divided it between her, and her younger brother, according to her father's provision in his last will, of which the Romans were made executors.

(4) The description of this battle is well worth reading, as it is related by Cæsar, who describes the temerity of Pharnaces in its proper colours.

(5) But

otherwiſe than by calling them Citizens, inſtead of Fellow-ſoldiers (5), and likewiſe gave each man a thouſand drachmas, beſide a ſhare of ſome lands in Italy. He was alſo reflected on for Dolabella's extravagance, Amintius's covetouſneſs, Antony's debauchery, (6) and the profuſeneſs of Cornificius, who having got poſſeſſion of Pompey's houſe pulled it down, and rebuilt it, becauſe he thought it not magnificent enough for him. Theſe things highly diſguſted the Romans; but though Cæſar was not ignorant of them nor at all approved them, his political views obliged him to make uſe of ſuch inſtruments.

After the battle of Pharſalia, Cato and Scipio fled into Africa, and there, with the aſſiſtance of king Juba, got together a conſiderable force, which Cæſar reſolved to engage. In order to it, he paſſed into Sicily in the very midſt of winter; and to deprive his officers of all hopes of delay there, he encamped cloſe by the ſea-ſide, and as ſoon as ever he had a fair wind put to ſea with three thouſand foot, and a few horſe (7). When he had landed them he went back privately under great apprehenſions for the reſt of his army; but he met them upon the ſea, and brought them all to his camp. There he was informed, that the enemy relied much upon an ancient oracle which declared that "the family of the Scipios ſhould be always "victorious in Africa." There was in his army a man, otherwiſe mean and contemptible, but of the houſe of the Africani, whoſe name was Scipio Salutio: this man Cæſar put at the head of his army in every encounter, with the title of general. It is difficult to determine whether he did this merely to ridicule Scipio, who commanded the enemy, or with a ſerious intention

(5) But by this appellation they were caſhiered from the ſervice.

(6) Xylander and Cruſerius are with good reaſon of opinion that there is a tranſpoſition in Plutarch's text, and that it ought to be read "the profuſeneſs of Cor-"nificius, and Anthony's de-"bauchery, who having, &c." For it was not Cornificius, but Anthony, who got the forfeiture of Pompey's houſe, where he ſpent his time in a

continued

intention to make the prediction favourable to himself. He was obliged often to set upon the enemy, and skirmish with them; for he wanted both victuals for his men, and forage for the horses. So that he was forced to feed them with a sea-weed, having washed it to take off its saltness, and mixed it with grass to give it a more agreeable taste. He was forced to make this shift, because the Numidians, in great numbers, and well mounted, commanded the whole country.

Cæsar's cavalry being one day unemployed diverted themselves with seeing an African, who entertained them with a dance, and played upon the pipe to admiration: they were so taken with this, that they alighted, and gave their horses to their servants, when on a sudden the enemy surrounded them, killed some, pursued the rest, and fell in with them into their camp; and had not Cæsar himself and Asinius Pollio came in to their assistance, and put a stop to their flight, the war had been then at an end. In another engagement, where the enemy had the advantage. Cæsar took an ensign, who was running away, by the neck, and forcing him to face about, said, "Look, "there is the enemy!" Scipio flushed with this success at first, had a mind to come to one decisive action: wherefore leaving Afranius and Juba in their two separate camps not far distant, he marched himself towards Thapsus, where he built a fort above the lake, which he designed as a place of security and retreat to them when they came to an engagement. Whilst Scipio was thus employing himself, Cæsar with incredible dispatch made his way through thick woods to some passages which were left unguarded, and coming suddenly

continued course of debauchery, as is evident from the second philipick of Cicero, and even from Plutarch himself in some passages in the life of Anthony.

(7) Hirtius says that he embarked six legions and two thousand horse. But he landed at first with only three thousand foot and an hundred and fifty horse, the ships which carried the rest of his army having been separated by contrary winds.

(8) How

denly upon him, attacked one part of his army in the rear, another in the front, and put them all to flight; then improving his opportunity and the favour of fortune, he in a moment took Afranius's camp, and destroyed that of the Numidians, Juba, their King, being glad to save himself by flight; so that in a small part of a day he made himself master of three camps, and killed fifty thousand of the enemy, with the loss only of fifty men. This is the account some give of that fight: others say, he was not in the action, but that he was taken with his usual distemper just as he was drawing up his army. He perceived the approaches of it, before it had too far disordered his senses; and as soon as he began to shake, he was removed into a neighbouring fort, where he reposed himself.

Of the great men who had been consuls or prætors, and who were taken after the fight, some were put to death by Cæsar, others killed themselves. Cato had undertaken to defend Utica, and for that reason was not in the battle. The desire which Cæsar had to take him alive, made him hasten thither. Upon notice he had killed himself, it is certain that Cæsar was much discomposed, but for what reason is not so well agreed: yet this he said, "Cato, "I envy thee thy death, because thou envyest me the "honour of saving thy life." Yet after all this, the discourse he wrote against Cato after his death, is no great proof of his kindness, or of an inclination to show him any favour. For is it probable that he would have been tender of his life, who was so bitter against his memory? Yet from his clemency to Cicero, Brutus, and many others who had engaged against him, some have guessed that Cæsar's book was not composed so much out of hatred to Cato, as from a political pique and

(8) How comes Plutarch to take notice only of three triumphs, since it is certain he had four? Nay he omits the most considerable and important of them all, his triumph over the Gauls. "Triumphavit post devictum Scipionem quater eodem mense, sed inter-

and ambition. Cicero, it seems, had written an encomium upon Cato, and called it by his name; and a discourse written by so great an orator, upon so excellent a subject, was, as it is natural to suppose, very generally and eagerly read. This touched Cæsar to the quick; for he looked upon a panegyrick on his enemy, who chose rather to kill himself than fall into his hands, as a satire upon himself; and therefore he published an answer to it, containing a collection of accusations against that great man, and called the book Anticato. Those discourses have to this day each of them their several admirers, as men are differently inclined to the party of one or the other.

Cæsar upon his return to Rome gave the people a magnificent account of his victory, telling them, that he had subdued a country, which would supply the publick every year with two hundred thousand Attick Medimni of corn, and three million pounds of oil. He was allowed (8) three triumphs, one for Egypt, another for Pontus, and a third for Africa. In the title of the last no mention was made of Scipio, but only of Juba, whose little son was then led in triumph; and whose captivity proved exceedingly fortunate to him, for of a barbarous Numidian, he came by this means to be reckoned in the number of the most learned Greek historians. After these triumphs, he distributed rewards to his soldiers, and treated the people with magnificent feasts and shows. At one of these feasts he had twenty-two thousand tables; and he entertained the people with combats of gladiators and sea fights in honour of his daughter Julia, long since dead. When those shows were over, an account was taken of the citizens, (9) who from three hundred and twenty thousand were now reduced to an hundred and fifty thousand. So great a waste had the

" interjectis Diebus. Primum & " excellentissimum triumphum egit " Gallicum, sequentem Alexan- " drinum, deinde Ponticum, prox- " imum Africanum. Sueton.

(9) There are no less than three considerable faults in this single passage, as Rualdus has observed;

the civil war made in Rome alone, not to mention what the other parts of Italy and the provinces had ſuffered.

He was now choſen a fourth time Conſul, and went into Spain againſt Pompey's ſons; they were but young, yet they had got together a very great army, and ſhowed they had courage and conduct to command it, ſo that Cæſar was in extreme danger. The great decisive battle was fought near the city of Munda, in which Cæſar ſeeing his men hard preſſed, and making but a weak reſiſtance, ran through the ranks among the ſoldiers, crying out to them, "Are you not aſhamed "to deliver your General into the hands of boys?" At laſt, with great difficulty, and by exerting the utmoſt reſolution, he forced back the enemy, killing thirty thouſand of them upon the ſpot, though with the loſs of a thouſand of his beſt men. When he came back from the fight, he told his friends, "That he had "often fought for victory, but this was the firſt time "that he had ever fought for life." This battle was won on the day of the Liberalia, or feſtival of Bacchus (1), the ſame day on which Pompey, four years before, had ſet out for the war. The younger of Pompey's ſons eſcaped, and Didius ſome days after the fight brought the head of the elder to Cæſar. This was the laſt battle

obſerved. The firſt is where it is ſaid that Cæſar took an account of the people. Suetonius ſays not a word of it, and Auguſtus himſelf in the Marmora Ancyrana ſays, "that in his ſixth Conſul-"ſhip," that is in the year of Rome 725, "he numbered the people, "which had not been done for "forty-two years before." The ſecond is, that before the civil war broke out between Cæſar and Pompey, the number of the citizens amounted to no more than three hundred and twenty thouſand; for long before that it was much greater, and had continued upon the increaſe. The laſt is, where it is aſſerted that in leſs than three years thoſe three hundred and twenty thouſand citizens were reduced by that war to one hundred and fifty thouſand; the falſity of which aſſertion is evident from this, that in a little while after Cæſar made a draught of fourſcore thouſand to be ſent to the foreign colonies. But what is ſtill ſtronger is, that Auguſtus eighteen years after, that is in his ſixth Conſulſhip, took an account of the people, and found the number amount to four millions and ſixty-

battle he was engaged in; and his triumphal entry on account of this victory displeased the Romans beyond any thing he had done before; for he did not triumph on the account of having defeated foreign generals, and barbarous kings, but for having ruined the children and the family of one of the greatest, though most unfortunate of all the Romans; and it was not well done to triumph over the calamities of his country, and to rejoice for an advantage which he ought rather to have deplored, and for which the only apology that could be made to the Gods or men, was that he was absolutely compelled to it by necessity. But what made this triumph still more displeasing was, that he never before sent a letter or express on account of any victory he had obtained in the course of the civil war, but seemed rather to be ashamed of the action than to claim any glory from it. But notwithstanding this, the Romans submitting to his fortune, gave the reins into his hands, and hoping that the government of a single person would give them time to breath after so many civil wars and calamities, made him Dictator for life. This was a complete tyranny; for his power now was not only absolute, but perpetual too. Cicero proposed to the senate to confer such honours upon him as were indeed in

sixty-three thousand. "Censere "civium Romanorum capita quadragies centum millia, & sexaginta tria millia." Such an augmentation in so short a space must be prodigious, if not impossible. Rualdus has not only discovered these errors in the text, but the source of them; he has made it appear that Plutarch, for want of a thorough understanding of the Latin tongue, was misled by the following passage in Suetonius, who says of Cæsar, cap. iv. "Recensum populi nec more nec "loco solito, sed vicatim per do-"minos insularum egit, atque ex "viginti trecentisque millibus ac-"cipientium frumentum e publico "ad centum quinquaginta retrax-"it." Suetonius speaks there of the review taken by Cæsar of the needy citizens, who shared in the public corn, whom he found to amount to three hundred and twenty thousand, and reduced to one hundred and fifty thousand; and Plutarch has mistaken recensum for censum, and this error has led him into the other mistakes.

(1) The seventeenth of March.

in ſome meaſure within the bounds of modeſty: others ſtriving which ſhould deſerve moſt, carried them to ſo exceſſive a height, that they made Cæſar odious even to the moſt moderate ſort of men, by the haughtineſs and extravagance of thoſe titles which they decreed him. His enemies are thought to have had ſome ſhare in this, as well as his flatterers; it gave them more advantage againſt him, and laid him more open to their accuſations; for ſince the civil wars were ended, he gave no other cauſe of complaint. And they had good reaſon to decree a temple to Clemency, in token of their gratitude for the mild uſe he made of his victories; for he not only pardoned many of thoſe who fought againſt him, but to ſome he gave honours and offices; as particularly to Brutus and Caſſius, who were both of them made Prætors. Pompey's images that were thrown down, he ſet up again; upon which Cicero ſaid, "that by raiſing Pom-"pey's ſtatues he had fixed his own." When his friends adviſed him to have a guard, and ſeveral offered him their ſervice, he would not hear of it, but ſaid, "it was "better to ſuffer death once, than always to live in "fear of it." He looked upon the affections of the people to be the beſt and ſureſt guard, and therefore entertained them again with public feaſts, and made diſtributions of corn; and to gratify his army, he ſent out many colonies to ſeveral places, of which the moſt remarkable were Carthage and Corinth; ſo that theſe two cities which had formerly been deſtroyed at the ſame time (2), were now at the ſame time rebuilt and repeopled. As to the nobles, he promiſed ſome that they ſhould be Conſuls or Prætors; others he recompenſed and ſatisfied with other offices or titles; and to all he gave hopes of his favour, being

(2) They had both been taken, and deſtroyed a hundred and two years before, Carthage by the laſt Scipio Africanus, and Corinth by Mummius Achaicus.

(3) There was no end of Cicero's jeſts upon that occaſion. Sometimes he ſaid, "We have a very "vigilant Conſul, for he has not "ſhut his eyes one moment ſince he entered

being desirous that their submission should be chearful and voluntary. And when the consul Fabius Maximus happened to die on the very day before the expiration of his office, he named Caninius Rebilius to be consul for the remaining day. When many persons went according to custom to pay their compliments to the new consul, Cicero said, by way of raillery, "Let us make haste, lest the man be gone out "of his office before we come (3).

Cæsar was so formed by nature for great actions, and had such an unbounded ambition, that his past exploits were so far from inclining him to sit down and enjoy in peace the glory he derived from them, that they served only to stimulate him to still greater attempts, and to make him keener in the pursuit of fresh honours, as if those he had already obtained were withered and decayed. This violent passion was a sort of jealousy and emulation in himself against himself, an obstinate perseverance and endeavour to outvy his past actions by his future. In pursuit of these thoughts, he had resolved and was preparing to make war upon the Parthians, and when he had subdued them to pass through Hyrcania, by the Caspian sea, and then by the Euxine sea to mount Caucasus, till he came into Scythia; after that to over-run all the countries about Germany, and Germany itself; and at last to return through Gaul into Italy; thus describing the spacious circle of his intended empire, and bounding it on every side by the ocean. While preparations were making for this expedition, he attempted to dig through the Isthmus of Corinth, and committed the care of that work to Anienus. He designed also to convey the Tiber by a deep channel directly from Rome to Circæi, and so into the sea near Tarracina, that there

"entered into his office." At another, "This consul of ours is a "magistrate of such strictness and "severity, that not a person a-"mong us has dined, supped, or "slept during his consulship." And at another time, "Caninius "is come to that pass as to ask "under what consuls he was "consul.

 (4) For

there might be a ſafe and eaſy paſſage for all merchants who traded to Rome. Beſides this, he intended to drain all the marſhes by Pomentium and Setia, by which ground enough would be gained from the water to employ many thouſands of men in tillage. He propoſed further to make great mounds on the ſhore nigheſt to Rome, to hinder the ſea from breaking in upon the land; to cleanſe the Oſtian ſhore of ſuch hidden ſhelves and rocks as made it unſafe for ſhipping, and to build ports and harbours fit to receive the great number of veſſels which came thither. Theſe things were deſigned without taking effect.

But his reformation of the kalendar, in order to rectify (4) the irregularity of time, was not only ingeniouſly contrived, but brought to perfection by him, and proved of very great uſe. For it was not only in ancient times that the Romans wanted a certain rule to make the revolutions of their months fall in with the courſe of the year, whereby their feſtivals and ſolemn days for ſacrifice were removed by little and little, till at laſt they came to fall in with ſeaſons quite oppoſite to thoſe of their primitive inſtitution; but even in Cæſar's days, the people had no way of computing rightly the courſe of the ſun; the prieſts alone had any ſkill in this matter, and often unexpectedly added an intercalary month, which they called Mercedonius. Numa was the firſt who inſerted this month, but his invention contributed but little to correct all the errors that roſe from their computation of the year, as we have ſhown in his life (5) Cæſar called in the beſt philoſophers and mathematicians of his time, to ſettle this point; and though the principles upon which they proceeded were already known, yet they eſtabliſhed a ſingular and accurate computation, which the Romans uſe to this day; and for this reaſon they ſeem to err leſs than any

(4) For by means of this irregularity the Roman kalendar had gained near three months in the days of Cæſar. Before his time endeavours had been uſed to correct that inequality, but it never

any other nation in the reduction of the inequality of the lunar and solar motions. Yet even this gave offence to those who envied Cæsar's greatness, and were weary of his power; for Cicero the orator, when some body happened to say, that "the next morning Lyra "would rise," replied, "To be sure, there is an edict "for it; as if men were forced by authority to receive this new scheme.

But that which brought upon him the most apparent and mortal hatred, was his desire of being King; this gave the common people the first occasion of complaint, and proved the most specious pretence to those who had been his secret enemies all along. Those, who would have procured him that title gave out, that it was foretold in the Sibyls books, "that the "Romans should conquer the Parthians when they fought "against them under the conduct of a king, but not before," And one day, as Cæsar was returning from Alba to Rome, some were so bold as to salute him by the name of king; but he finding the people disrelish it, seemed to resent it himself, and said, "His title was "Cæsar, not King." Upon this, they forbore their acclamations, and he past on with an air of sullenness and dissatisfaction. Another time, when the senate had conferred on him some extravagant honours, he happened to receive the message as he was sitting on the Rostrum, where, though the consuls and prætors themselves waited on him, attended by the whole body of the senate, he did not rise, but behaved to them as if they had been private men; his answer to them was, "That "his honours wanted rather to be retrenched than in-"creased." This behaviour offended not only the senate, but the commonalty too; for they thought the affront upon the senate equally reflected upon the whole republick; so that all who could decently leave him went off much dejected. Cæsar perceiving the false

never could be done with exactness.

(5) See volume I. page 183.

(6) See

falſe ſtep he had made, immediately retired home; and laying his throat bare, told his friends, that he was ready to preſent it to any man that would kill him. Afterwards he excuſed his ſitting by his diſtemper, under pretence that thoſe who are affected with it have their ſenſes diſcompoſed if they talk much ſtanding, that they preſently grow giddy, fall into convulſions, and quite loſe their reaſon. But all this was feigned; for he would willingly have ſtood up to the ſenate, had not Cornelius Balbus, one of his friends, or rather flatterers, hindered him. "Do not "you remember," ſaid he, "that you are Cæſar? "And will you abate any thing of that honour which "is due to you? He gave ſtill a freſh occaſion of reſentment by his affront to the tribunes. The Lupercalia (6) were then celebrated, a feaſt at the firſt inſtitution peculiar, as ſome writers ſay, to the ſhepherds, and much of the ſame nature with the Arcadian Lycæa: many young noblemen and magiſtrates run that day up and down the city naked, ſtriking all they meet with leathern thongs, by way of ſport; women of the beſt quality place themſelves in the way, and hold out their hands to the laſh, as boys in a ſchool do to the Ferula, from an opinion that it procures an eaſy labour to thoſe who are with child, and makes thoſe conceive who are barren. Cæſar dreſt in a triumphal robe, ſeated himſelf in a golden chair upon the Roſtrum, to view this ceremony. Anthony, as conſul, was one of thoſe who ran his courſe; when he came into the Forum, the people made way for him, whilſt he preſented Cæſar with a diadem wreathed with laurel. Upon

(6) See a further account of the ceremonies obſerved at this feſtival Vol. I p. 80, 81,

(7) The Cumæans were noted for their ſtupidity, as Strabo obſerves, lib. 13; and he gives us theſe reaſons for it. The firſt is that they were three huudred years before they thought of laying a duty upon merchandize imported into their harbours, and before they found out that they inhabited a maritime city. The ſecond is that having mortgaged their porticos for a certain ſum of money, and failing to pay it at the time named in the contract, their creditors prohibited

Upon this, a ſound of applauſe was heard, which however was very feeble, as it proceeded only from a few perſons placed there on purpoſe; but when Cæſar refuſed it the applauſe was general. Upon the ſecond offer, a few only clapped their hands; but on his once more refuſing it the applauſe was again univerſal. Cæſar having made this experiment of the diſpoſition of the people, roſe up, and ordered the crown to be cried into the capitol. Cæſar's ſtatues were afterwards found with royal diadems on their heads: Flavius and Marullus, two tribunes of the people, went preſently and pulled them off; and having apprehended thoſe who firſt ſaluted Cæſar as King, committed them to priſon. The people followed them with acclamations, and called them Brutus's, becauſe Brutus was the firſt who cut off the ſucceſſion of kings, and transferred the power which before was lodged in one, into the hands of the ſenate and people. Cæſar ſo far reſented this, that he diſplaced Marullus and Flavius; and at the ſame time that he inveighed againſt them, he ridiculed the people, calling them ſeveral times Bruti and (7) Cumæi.

Theſe things made the multitude turn their eyes on Marcus Brutus, who by his father's ſide was thought to be deſcended from that firſt Brutus, and by his mother's ſide from the Servilii, another noble family, and who beſides was nephew and ſon-in-law to Cato. But the honours and favours he had received from Cæſar checked him from attempting of his own accord to ſubvert the monarchy; for he had not only been pardoned himſelf after Pompey's defeat at Pharſalia, and had

hibited them from walking under them. But when the rains began to fall, thoſe creditors being touched with ſome ſhame and remorſe, cauſed it to be publiſhed "that the Cumæans if "they pleaſed, might take ſhelter "under their own porticos;" which gave occaſion to this piece of raillery, "That the Cumæans "had not the ſenſe to know that "they ſhould ſtand under their "porticos when it rained, till "they were informed of it by the "voice of the crier.

(8) The

had procured the ſame favour for many of his friends, but was one in whom Cæſar had a particular confidence. He had at that time the moſt honourable prætorſhip, and was named for the conſulſhip four years after, being preferred before Caſſius his competitor. Upon the diſpute between them, Cæſar ſaid, "Caſſius has the faireſt pretentions, but I cannot paſs "by Brutus. Nor did he afterwards hearken to thoſe who accuſed Brutus as being engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him; but laying his hand on his body, ſaid to the informers, "Brutus will ſtay for this ſkin of mine;" intimating, that he was worthy of empire on account of his virtue, but would not be baſe and ungrateful to gain it. But thoſe who deſired a change, and looked on him as the only, or at leaſt the moſt proper perſon to effect it, durſt not diſcourſe on the ſubject with him; but in the night time laid papers on the tribunal where he uſed to ſit and determine cauſes, with ſentences in them of this kind; "You are aſleep, "Brutus: You are no longer Brutus." Caſſius, when he perceived that his ambition and love of glory was in ſome degree rouſed by this, endeavoured to urge and excite him ſtill further, having himſelf a private grudge againſt Cæſar, for ſome reaſons that we have mentioned in the life of Brutus. Nor was Cæſar without ſuſpicions of him; ſo that he once ſaid to his friends, "What "do you think Caſſius aims at? I do not much like "him, he looks ſo pale." And when it was told him, that Anthony and Dolabella were in a plot againſt him, he ſaid, "He did not fear the fat and ſleek men, but ra-"ther the pale and lain," meaning Caſſius and Brutus.

Fate ſeems to be more eaſily foreſeen than avoided; for there were many ſtrange appearances and prodigies on this occaſion. As to the lights in the heavens, the

(8) The pinacle was a ſort of ornament uſually placed on the top of their temples. The Greeks called it ἀετὸς, ἀέτωμα, and the Latins, Faſtigium. It was not allowed to private perſons to raiſe ſuch ornaments on the tops of their houſes without the conſent of the ſenate, to whom it belonged to conſer publick

the noiſes which were every where heard in the night, and the ſolitary birds which flew into the Forum, theſe are not perhaps worth taking notice of in ſo remarkable an event. But Strabo the philoſopher tells us, that men were ſeen in the air all on fire encountering each other; and that a prodigious flame ſeemed to iſſue from the hand of a ſoldier's ſervant, inſomuch that they who ſaw it thought he muſt be burnt, but that after all he had no hurt. As Cæſar was ſacrificing, the victim was ſeen to want a heart, which was a very ill omen, becauſe a creature cannot ſubſiſt without a heart. Many add, that a ſoothſayer bid him beware of the Ides of March, becauſe he was then threatned with ſome great danger; and that when the day was come, Cæſar as he went to the ſenate met this ſoothſayer, and ſaid to him by way of raillery, "The ides of March are come;" and he anſwered him ſoftly, "Yes, they are come, but they are not paſt." The day before, he ſupped with Marcus Lepidus; and as he was ſigning ſome letters while he was at table, as he often did, there aroſe a diſpute "what ſort of death "was the beſt?" At which he immediately, before any one could ſpeak, cried out, "A ſudden one."

After this, as he was in bed with his wife, all the doors and windows of the chamber where he lay flew open on a ſudden. He was ſtartled at the noiſe, and at the light which broke into the room, and by the moonſhine perceived Calpurnia faſt aſleep, but heard her utter in a dream ſome indiſtinct words, and inarticulate groans. She fancied at that time ſhe was weeping over Cæſar, and holding him butchered in her arms. Others, among whom is Livy, ſay that this was not her dream; but that ſhe dreamed (5) a pinacle (which the ſenate had allowed to be raiſed on Cæſar's

publick honours. Thus as a token of honour it was allowed to Poplicola to have the doors of his houſe open towards the ſtreet inſtead of opening inwards This pinacle was commonly adorned with ſome ſtatues of their Gods, figures of victory, or ſuch other decorations as were ſuitable to the rank and quality of thoſe to whom

Cæsar's house by way of ornament and grandeur) was broken down, which was the occasion of her tears and groans. When it was day, she begged of Cæsar, if it were possible, not to stir out, but to adjourn the senate to another time; and if he slighted her dreams, at least to consult his fate by sacrifices, and other kinds of divination. Nor was he himself without some suspicion and fear; for he never before discovered in Calpurnia any womanish superstition, though he now saw her under such terrible apprehensions. Upon the report which the priests made to him, that they had killed several sacrifices, and still found them inauspicious, he was resolved to send Anthony to dismiss the senate. In the mean time Decius Brutus (9) surnamed Albinus came in. He was one in whom Cæsar had such confidence that he had made him his second heir, though at the same time he was engaged in the conspiracy against him, with the other Brutus and Cassius. This man fearing lest if Cæsar should adjourn the senate to another day, the affair might be discovered, ridiculed the diviners, and told Cæsar he would be much to blame if he gave the senate so just grounds of complaint against him, by putting such a slight on them; "for they are," said he, "met upon "your own summons, and are ready to vote unanimously, "that you shall be declared King of all the provinces "out of Italy, and be allowed to wear a diadem in any "other place, both by sea and land. Now if any one "should be sent to tell them they must break up for the "present, and meet again when Calpurnia shall chance "to have better dreams, what will your enemies say? "Or, who will with any patience hear your friends, if "they shall pretend to justify you, and maintain that "this is not an instance of downright servitude on the "one part, and manifest tyranny on the other? But if "you are so far prepossessed as really to think this an "unfortunate day, it will be more decent for you to go to "the senate yourself, and adjourn it in your own person."

Brutus,

whom the privilege of erecting them was granted.

(9) Appian

Brutus having ſpoke theſe words, took Cæſar by the hand, and conducted him forth. He was not gone far from the door, when a ſlave belonging to ſome other perſon made towards him; but not being able to come up to him, by reaſon of the crowd who preſſed about him, he made ſhift to get into the houſe, and committed himſelf to Calpurnia, begging of her to ſecure him till Cæſar returned, becauſe he had matters of great importance to communicate to him. Artemidorus the Cnidian, who taught the art of rhetorick in Greek, and by that means was ſo well acquainted with ſome of Brutus's friends, that he had got intelligence of moſt of their tranſactions, brought Cæſar a paper containing an account of what he had to diſcover to him. But having obſerved that Cæſar as he received any papers immediately delivered them to ſome of his officers who attended him, he came very near to him and ſaid, "Read this Cæſar, alone, and "quickly; for it contains great buſineſs, and ſuch as "concerns you nearly." Cæſar received it, and attempted to read it ſeveral times, but was ſtill hindered by the crowd of thoſe who came to ſpeak to him. However he kept it in his hand by itſelf, till he came into the ſenate. Some ſay it was another who gave Cæſar this note, and that Artemidorus could not come up to him, being all along kept off by the crowd. All theſe things might happen by chance. But the place where the ſenate met, which was choſen for the ſcene of this murder, was the ſame in which Pompey's ſtatue ſtood, and was one of the edifices which Pompey had built and dedicated with his theatre for the uſe of the publick; which plainly ſhowed that there was ſome Deity which guided the action, and ordered it to be in that particular place. Caſſius juſt before the action looked towards Pompey's ſtatue, and ſilently implored his aſſiſtance; though he was an Epicurean in his principles; but this occaſion, and the imminent danger, ſhook

(9) Appian and Suetonius call him Decimus Brutus.

(1) Plutarch

ſhook his former notions, and made him a perfect enthuſiaſt. As for Anthony, who was firm to Cæſar, and a man of ſtrength and reſolution, (1) Brutus Albinus kept him without the houſe, and entertained him with a long diſcourſe contrived on purpoſe.

When Cæſar entered into the houſe, the ſenate ſtood up in reſpect to him. Some of Brutus's confederates came about his chair, and ſtood behind it; others met him, pretending to ſupplicate with Metillius Cimber (2) in behalf of his brother who was in exile; and they followed him with their joint petitions till he came to his ſeat. When he was ſeated he rejected their petitions, and upon their urging him further, reprimanded them ſeverally. Whereupon Metillius laying hold of his robe with both his hands, drew it off his neck, which was the ſignal for the aſſault. Caſca gave him the firſt wound in the neck, which was not mortal, nor dangerous, as coming from one who at the beginning of ſuch a bold action was probably in great agitation of mind. Cæſar immediately turned about, and laid his hand upon his dagger; and both of them at the ſame time cried out; he that received the blow, in Latin, "Thou "villain Caſca! what doſt thou mean?" and he that gave it in Greek, addreſſing himſelf to his Brother, "Bro-"ther, help!" Upon the firſt onſet, thoſe who were not privy to the deſign were aſtoniſhed; and their horror at the action was ſo great, that they durſt not fly, nor aſſiſt Cæſar, nor ſo much as ſpeak a word. But thoſe who came prepared for the buſineſs, encloſed him on every ſide with their naked daggers in their hands; ſo that which way ſoever he turned, he met with wounds, and ſaw their ſwords levelled at his face and eyes, and was aſſailed on all ſides like a beaſt taken in a toil. For it was agreed they ſhould each of them make a thruſt at him, and all partake in

(1) Plutarch ſays in the life of Brutus, that Anthony was detained without by Caius Trebonius; which agrees with Appians's account.

(2) Suetonius calls him Tullius Cimber.

in the ſacrifice; wherefore Brutus gave him one ſtab in the groin. Some ſay that he fought and reſiſted all the reſt, moving about from one place to another, and calling out for help; but that when he ſaw Brutus's ſword drawn, he covered his face with his robe, and quietly ſurrendered himſelf, till he was puſhed, either by chance, or by deſign of the murderers, to the pedeſtal on which Pompey's ſtatue ſtood, which by that means was much ſtained with his blood. So that Pompey himſelf may ſeem to have preſided in this execution of vengeance upon his enemy, who fell at his feet, and expired from a multitude of wounds; for they ſay he received three and twenty. The conſpirators themſelves were many of them wounded by each other, whilſt they all levelled their blows at the ſame perſon.

When Cæſar was diſpatched, Brutus ſtood forth to give a reaſon for what they had been doing; but the ſenators who had not the heart to ſtay and hear him, flew out of doors in all haſte, and filled the people with ſo much fear and diſtraction, that ſome ſhut up their houſes, others left their ſhops and places of buſineſs; all were running one way or other; ſome to the place to ſee the ſad ſpectacle; others back again, after they had ſeen it. Anthony and Lepidus, Cæſar's beſt friends, got off privately, and concealed themſelves in ſome friends houſes. Brutus and his followers, yet reeking from the ſlaughter, marched in a body from the ſenate-houſe to the capitol with their drawn ſwords, not like perſons who thought of eſcaping, but with an air of confidence and chearfulneſs. As they went along, they called to the people to reſume their liberty, and complimented thoſe of better quality, as they came in their way. Some of thoſe went along with them, and joined company with the conſpirators, pretending to ſhare in the honour of the action, as if they had borne a part in it.

Cimber. Perhaps his name was M. Tullius Cimber, and the tranſcribers changed M. Tullius into Metillius.

(3) Pliny

it. Of this number was Caius Octavius, and Lentulus Spinther. However they ſuffered afterwards for their vanity, being put to death by Anthony and the younger Cæſar; but they loſt the honour they deſired, and for which they loſt their lives, ſince no one believed they had any ſhare in the action; for even they who puniſhed them did not do it in revenge of the fact, but the will. The day after, Brutus with the reſt came down from the capitol, and made a ſpeech to the people, who attended to it, without expreſſing either any pleaſure or reſentment, but ſhowed by their deep ſilence that they pitied Cæſar and reverenced Brutus. The ſenate paſſed an act of oblivion, and took healing meaſures to reconcile all parties: they ordered that Cæſar ſhould be worſhipped as a God, and that not even the leaſt thing ſhould be altered which he had enacted during his government: at the ſame time they gave Brutus and his followers the command of provinces, and other conſiderable poſts: ſo that all people now thought things were well ſettled, and put into a very good poſture. But when Cæſar's will was opened, and it was found that he had left a conſiderable legacy to each of the Roman citizens; and when his body was ſeen carried through the Forum all mangled with wounds, the multitude could no longer contain themſelves within the bounds of decency and order, but heaped together a pile of benches, doors, and tables, on which they placed the corpſe, and burnt it there. Then ſome of them took firebrands, and ran to burn the houſes of the aſſaſſins, others went up and down the city, to find out the men themſelves, and tear them in pieces; but they met with none of them, they having taken effectual care to ſecure themſelves.

One Cinna, a friend of Cæſar's, chanced the night before to have an odd dream; he fancied that Cæſar invited him to ſupper; and that upon his refuſal to go

(3) Pliny has preſerved a paſſage of Auguſtus, who ſucceeded Cæſar, wherein he ſays that that comet appeared all on a ſudden, whilſt

go with him, Cæsar took him by the hand, and forced him, though he hung back. Upon notice that Cæsar's body was burning in the Forum, he got up, and went thither, out of respect to his memory, though his dream gave him some ill apprehensions, and though he was at the same time feverish. One of the rabble who saw him there, asked another, "Who that was?" And having learned his name, told it to his next neighbour. A report was presently spread through the whole multitude that he was one of Cæsar's murderers; and indeed there was one Cinna among the conspirators. The people taking this to be the man, immediately seized him, and tore him limb from limb upon the spot.

Brutus and Cassius were so terrified at these proceedings, that a few days after they withdrew out of the city. What they afterwards did and suffered, and how they died, is related in the life of Brutus. Cæsar died in his fifty-sixth year, not having survived Pompey much above four years. That empire and power which he had pursued through the whole course of his life with so much hazard, he at last with great difficulty attained; but he reaped no other fruits from it than an empty name, and invidious title. But that happy genius, which was propitious to him during his life, seems to have adhered to him after his death, as the revenger of his murder; for it pursued and traced by sea and land all those who were concerned in it, and suffered none to escape, but reached all who were either actually engaged in the fact, or by their counsels any way promoted it.

The most signal accident of any that arise from common natural causes, was that which befel Cassius; who when he was conquered at Philippi, killed himself with the same dagger which he had made use of against Cæsar. The most remarkable appearance in the heavens (3) was a great comet, which shone very bright for seven nights after Cæsar's death, and then disappeared,

whilst they were celebrating the games in honour of Cæsar: "In

" ipsis ludorum meorum diebus " sidus crinitum per septem dies in

peared. There was alſo a very faint light in the ſun; for the orb of it was pale for the ſpace of a year, nor did it riſe with its uſual brightneſs and vigour. Hence it gave but a feeble heat, and the air was damp and groſs for want of ſtronger rays to clear and rarify it: the fruits, for that reaſon, were crude and unconcocted, ſo that they rotted and decayed through the chillneſs of the air. Above all, the phantom which appeared to Brutus, ſhowed that the murder was not pleaſing to the Gods. The ſtory of it is this.

Brutus being to paſs his army from Abydos to the oppoſite continent, laid himſelf down one night, as he uſed to do, in his tent; he was not aſleep, but thinking of his affairs, and the event of the war; for he was naturally of a watchful conſtitution, and no General ever required ſo little ſleep. He thought he heard a noiſe at the door of his tent; and looking that way, by the light of his lamp, which was almoſt extinguiſhed, he ſaw a terrible figure, like that of a man, but of an extraordinary bulk and grim countenance. He was ſomewhat frighted at firſt: but ſeeing it neither did nor ſpoke any thing to him, but only ſtood ſilently by his bedſide, he aſked it at laſt, "Who it was?" The ſpectre anſwered him, "I am thy evil genius, Bru-"tus, and thou ſhalt ſee me at Philippi." Brutus anſwered very couragiouſly, "Well, I will ſee thee there;" and immediately the apparition vaniſhed. When the time was come, he drew up his army near Philippi againſt Anthony and Cæſar, and in the firſt battle got the day, routed the enemy, and plundered Cæſar's camp. The night before the ſecond battle, the ſame ſpectre appeared to him again, but ſpoke not a word. He preſently underſtood his death was near, and expoſed himſelf to all

" in regione cœli quæ ſub ſeptentrionibus eſt, conſpectum. Id oriebatur circa undecimam horam Diei, clarumque & omnibus terris conſpicuum fuit. Eo fidere ſignificari vulgus credidit

" Cæſaris animam in Deorum immortalium numina receptam: quo nomine id inſigne ſimulacro capitis ejus, quod mox in foro conſecravimus, adjectum eſt." Plin. Lib. 2. Cap. 25.

all the danger of the battle: yet he did not die in the fight; but ſeeing his men defeated, he got up to the top of a rock, and there preſenting his ſword to his naked breaſt, and being aſſiſted, as they ſay, by a friend, who helped him to give the thruſt, died upon the ſpot.

The Comparison of CÆSAR *with* ALEXANDER.

By Mr. DACIER.

THE Roman empire so plentifully abounded with virtues of all kinds, especially such as are military, that I have before me a large choice of many great commanders, and some even of his contemporaries, worthy to be put in competition with Alexander. But when Cæsar presents himself I cannot but at the first view think him the fittest to be compared with that conqueror of Asia. And I may venture to say that if in my other comparisons I have myself made choice of the champions I was to bring into the lists, in this, that is now before us, I have only followed the universal consent of mankind. The general concurrence of all nations, and all ages, has pointed Cæsar out as the fittest person to be compared with Alexander, the person in whom is to be found the greatest conformity with him. Indeed there is a perfect resemblance between them in their principal features; the same ambition, and the same delight in war; the same ardour and impetuosity in pursuing their designs; the same courage and intrepidity in action; the same generosity to those they had vanquished, and the same confidence in fortune. Alexander's glory effaced that of all the Grecian commanders who had gone before him, and Cæsar's infinitely excelled his predecessors among the Romans. At his approach all others were eclipsed,

as

as when the ſun firſt appears all the nightly luminaries are extinguiſhed, and, to make uſe of Pindar's words,

His light lays waſte the whole extent of heaven.

But as in thoſe faces where we meet with the ſtrongeſt reſemblances, we always find ſome marks of diſtinction; ſo there are in the lineaments of theſe two heroes ſome peculiar features that point out to us the difference that is between them. We are now to take a ſurvey of the one and the other, and to weigh in an equal balance their virtues and their vices, that the reader may be able to judge which of them has the preference, and in which of them is to be found the moſt true and ſolid greatneſs.

If we conſider them with reſpect to their birth, we ſhall not find the one to have any advantage over the other. Alexander was deſcended from Hercules by his father's ſide, and from Achilles by his mother's; ſo that he could trace his pedigree up to Jupiter himſelf; and ſo could Cæſar too, being as he ſaid, deſcended from Venus and Anchiſes. But Alexander did in a manner diſhonour his birth by diſguiſing it, pretending to be the ſon of Jupiter, and the fruit of the commerce of that Deity with his mother. Whereas Cæſar never departed from the tradition of his family, but thought it enough to ſay, "that the Julii were deſcended from "Venus, and that in his family was to be found the "majeſty of kings, who are above the reſt of mankind, "and the ſanctity of the Gods, on whom kings are "dependent.

They were both of them exceedingly beautiful, of a lofty mien, full of ſweetneſs and majeſty. The fire that ſparkled in their eyes betokened the heat and impetuoſity of their courage. However each of them had a defect in his make, which their reſpective hiſtorians have not forgotten. Cæſar was bald, and Alexander's head leaned on one ſide. But this defect

in Cæsar was at last concealed by his many victories, for they gave him a right to a laurel crown, which he wore constantly; and that of Alexander was as it were wiped off by the flattery of his courtiers, those apes of their master, for they either effaced it, or rendered it less remarkable by their imitation of it. Alexander was formed by nature to encounter the greatest hardships; whereas Cæsar was of a weak delicate constitution, which however he strengthed by exercise, and drew even from war a remedy for his indispositions, by never sparing himself, by inuring his body to all sorts of fatigues, and turning even his repose into action. Now it is more glorious to harden and invigorate an infirm body by the mere dint of courage and labour, than to receive it robust and strong from the hands of nature.

They were both possessed with the same spirit of ambition, the same passion for empire and dominion. Alexander, whilst but a child, complained to his comrades of his father, who, he said, would leave nothing for him to conquer; and Cæsar in a more advanced age, confessed to his friends as he was passing the Alps, that he had rather be the first in a poor inconsiderable town than the second in Rome. And upon reading the life of Alexander one day whilst he was in Spain, he burst out into tears because he had done nothing glorious at an age wherein that Prince had conquered so many kingdoms. But in truth this passion was more proper for Alexander, who was born a King, than for Cæsar, who was by birth no more than a private person, notwithstanding his high extraction; he was as it were hemmed in by numbers of great men, all his equals; so that he could not think of aggrandizing himself without breaking down that barrier of equality, and committing the greatest acts of injustice.

It is true that on the other side this makes for the advantage of Cæsar. For it is not so surprising to

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ſee a Prince of royal birth, and aided with all the ſupports which that ſtate affords, raiſed to the higheſt pitch of greatneſs, as to ſee a private man, without any of thoſe advantages, by his own induſtry raiſe himſelf to that eminence. He certainly ſhows himſelf to be the greater man who owes his advancement to himſelf alone, than he who is in a conſiderable degree obliged to his anceſtors for it, who have laid the firſt foundations of that advancement.

As to their education, Alexander had a great advantage over Cæſar. We hear no mention of his preceptors, and are only told that he went to Rhodes to hear Apollonius Molon the philoſopher; whereas Alexander had many preceptors and governors always attending him; and his father Philip ſent for Ariſtotle the moſt celebrated and learned of all the philoſophers, to take care of his education. To this education was owing the great love he had for knowledge and learning, which made him own that he had rather excel other men in that reſpect, than in power and dominion. This taught him to entertain ſuch a high value and eſteem for Homer, as to declare that he envied Achilles nothing but his good fortune in having that excellent poet for the herald of his actions. And yet it may be ſaid with great truth that Cæſar, though he had a more ordinary education, was as great a proficient in learning as Alexander, which appeared by his many treatiſes, and of which his Commentaries, and the high commendations he received from his contemporaries on account of his eloquence, are teſtimonies ſtill ſubſiſting.

Alexander's firſt appearance in the world was with ſuch a luſtre, as plainly foretold the amazing brightneſs that was to follow. Being left Regent of the realm at the age of ſixteen he reduced a nation that had rebelled, and took their capital city by aſſault. Two years after he had the command of a wing of the army under his father Philip at the battle of Chæ-

ronea, where he broke the sacred band of the Thebans. When he was twenty years old he succeeded his father in the empire, and though he found the state in a very distracted condition, the barbarous nations being ready to throw off the yoke, and Greece not accustomed to the dominion of the Macedonians, in great confusion and agitation, yet he refused to follow the advice of his friends, who counselled him to leave Greece to herself, and not think of retaining her by force, and to reduce the barbarians by gentle usage, and apply lenitives to the distemper. Instead of these timorous expedients he built his security upon his courage and magnanimity. He marched against the barbarians, and defeated them in a pitched battle; after which he turned his victorious arms against the Thebans, and established his power in Greece by the chastisement inflicted on the rebels.

Cæsar's beginnings were not so illustrious. We hear nothing of him till after he was married, and the first years that succeeded his marriage do not afford any thing that can stand in competition with the great exploits of the Macedonian, unless we should bring into the comparison his steady behaviour, though he was then but young, towards Sylla; his haughty carriage to the pirates though he was their prisoner, and the punishment he inflicted on them after he had defeated them in their own harbour. It was indeed an argument of great resolution not to be shocked at the menaces of a man so cruel and imperious as Sylla, and to use a parcel of lawless unrelenting pirates as if he had been their master, and not their prisoner. Besides Cæsar must even in his youth have promised something very great and formidable, since Sylla said "that in that boy he discovered "many Marius's. But is this dawn comparable to that of Alexander, in which he rendered himself master of Greece, reduced Thrace and Illyria, and subdued the Triballi and Mœsians?

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The expedients they both made uſe of in order to compaſs their ends, and attain their greatneſs, place them in very different lights. Alexander's procedure was full of honour, candor, and ſincerity; that of Cæſar was made of meanneſs, fraud and artifice. He diſhonourably made his court to the people; propoſed many ſeditious laws to gain their favour; advanced to the office of tribune the moſt infamous of mankind, and practiſed a ſcandalous traffick of marriages in order to carry on his deſigns.

Policy is an art peculiarly belonging to princes and Sateſmen. That of Cæſar was deep, and refined. He at the ſame time ſolicited for the Conſulſhip and a triumph; but as the laws diſqualified him from the firſt whilſt he remained with his troops at the gates of the city, after having demanded a privilege which was refuſed him, he dropped his pretenſions to the triumph, entered Rome, and put up for the Conſulſhip, like a true politician preferring that which was more ſure and profitable, to that which was more glaring and oſtentatious. He reconciled Pompey and Craſſus, by which he ſecured to himſelf the power and intereſt of them both. So that an action which outwardly ſeemed to be full of humanity, put him in a condition to overturn the government. He defeated his enemies by the arms of his citizens, and bought his citizens with the wealth of his enemies. There is nothing of this kind in Alexander that may be compared with it; but that is for his honour; for policy is never commendable, but when it is employed by juſtice.

There was one inſtance of policy in Cæſar worthy of commendation. After he had overthrown the Helvetians in a general engagement he recalled thoſe that had eſcaped from the battle to the number of a hundred thouſand and upwards, and forced them to return into their own country, and rebuild the cities they had deſtroyed. This he did to prevent the Germans

mans who might have been tempted by the goodness of the country to pass the Rhine, and settle in those parts, which would have been of dangerous consequence to the Romans.

But is not Alexander to be commended for his policy, when for the better maintaining and securing his power during his absence in remote parts, he took thirty thousand children of the principal families in Persia, to be educated in the learning of Greece, and instructed in the Macedonian exercises? By this means assuring himself of the fidelity of the parents and affection of the children, who besides from hostages would in time become soldiers.

His marriage with Roxana, and afterwards with Darius's daughter, as also the marriage of the principal officers of his court to the daughters of the greatest men in Persia, which was celebrated with so much magnificence, may be looked on as the effect of great prudence, for he thereby joined in bands of the closest alliance, two of the most powerful nations upon earth. Unless it may be said that pleasure, and the allurements of great and magnificent feasts, accompanied with love and dissolute revelling, which had already got the better of his continence, had a larger share than policy in that union.

As for their warlike actions, by which they are particularly characterized, it is easy to draw a comparison between them, but it is not so easy to determine which has the advantage; this must be the work of the most consummate and experienced commander. We will endeavour to propose that which to us seems the most obvious.

Many things are requisite to the forming a great General. For without reckoning up the qualifications of the body, he ought to have prudence to undertake wisely, to lay his designs deeply, and so to apply his expedients as to execute them successfully. He ought to know what places are proper for encampments;

campments; how to form an army according to the nature of the ground, the difference of conjunctures, and the diſpoſition of the enemy, ſo as to deprive him of all poſſible advantages, and ſecure them to himſelf. He ought artfully to conceal his own ſchemes, and penetrate into thoſe of the enemy, or as Plato ſays from Homer, to ſteal from him his reſolutions, his deſigns, and all his enterprizes. He muſt have the foreſight to ſecure his convoys, and prevent their falling into ambuſcades; courage and boldneſs in execution; a vivacity in profiting from all conjunctures, and ſeeing with the caſt of an eye, and inſtantly amending any diſorder that may ariſe in the heat of action, which otherwiſe may diſcompoſe meaſures the moſt prudent, and beſt concerted; but above all this he muſt have a cool head, and ſolid judgment, that can never be diſturbed in the midſt of the greateſt dangers.

All theſe qualifications appear in a high degree both in Cæſar and Alexander; though the latter truſted more to fortune, who has a great influence upon all human affairs, and exerts her power no where with ſo much inſolence, as in military undertakings.

After his eſſay againſt the Thebans, and actions that would do honour to the moſt renowned commanders, he undertook his expedition into Aſia, with means no way proportioned to the greatneſs of the enterprize. He ſet out with an army conſiſting of no more than thirty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, and a fund of two hundred talents. With this fund, and this army, was he to encounter with Darius, who could raiſe millions of men, and had immenſe treaſures to maintain them.

Imagination ſtartles at the boldneſs of this enterprize, and is aſtoniſhed and tranſported at the manner in which it was executed. What can be more wonderful than his paſſage over the Granicus? Alexander

ander there looks more like one poſſeſſed, than a man of ſenſe and reaſon. To behold him in the middle of the flood, often born down, and buried in the waters, one would think one ſaw Achilles ſtruggling with the boiſterous waves of the Scamander, and Simois. At laſt after infinite hazards, and through the midſt of a ſhower of darts, he reached the oppoſite bank, where he engaged the enemy, and obtained a ſignal victory. Sardis, and ſeveral other cities are the fruits of that victory. Miletus and Halicarnaſſus he takes by force; he reduces the Piſidians who had revolted, and paſſes like a torrent through Paphlagonia and Cappadocia. He advances againſt Darius into Syria, where he gains a ſecond victory, which was chiefly owing to his conduct, and the excellent diſpoſition of his forces. After this he lays ſiege to Tyre, during which he makes an incurſion into Arabia. And when he had reduced the place, which employed him ſeven months, and coſt him infinite labour, he ſits down before Gaza the capital of Syria, and makes himſelf maſter of that. From thence he marches into Egypt to conſult the Oracle of Jupiter Ammon, where he meets with innumerable difficulties that were thought inſurmountable. Upon his return into Phœnicia he marches againſt Darius, who has come down with an army of a million of men, and defeats him in a pitched battle, which makes him maſter of Babylon and the whole Perſian empire.

To theſe famous exploits of Alexander we may oppoſe thoſe performed by Cæſar in Spain, where he ſubdued nations that till then had never paid any obedience to the Romans; and we may give the preference to his glorious campaigns againſt the Tigurians, the Helvetians, the Germans, and the Belgæ, in which he totally ſubdued Gaul, took by aſſault above eight hundred towns, conquered three hundred nations, fought in different engagements againſt

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three millions of enemies, cut in pieces above one million, made another million priſoners, ended two important wars in one campaign, and choaked up the lakes and rivers with the bodies of the ſlain.

With Alexander's paſſage over the Granicus, and his contention with the waves, may be oppoſed that exploit of Cæſar, who in the war of Alexandria ran a much greater riſque, when he jumped into a ſkiff to go to the aſſiſtance of his troops that were hardly preſſed at the attack of Pharos, and threw himſelf afterwards into the ſea to ſwim to his ſhips which were a great way off, though he was expoſed all the while to the enemies darts and javelins. He was the firſt Roman that ever paſt the Rhine at the head of an army; and though he paſt it on a bridge, it was a bridge which was contrived and perfected in the ſpace of ten days, and was for that reaſon the aſtoniſhment and admiration of the whole world. And what is ſtill more ſurprizing, this whole expedition was the buſineſs of no more than eighteen days.

To the boldneſs of Alexander's expedition into the Indies, we may oppoſe that of Cæſar into Britain. Alexander therein ſatisfied the ambition he always had of puſhing his conqueſts to the extremity of the world, and had the ſatisfaction of ſailing ſome furlongs upon the eaſtern ocean. But Cæſar was the firſt Roman that penetrated with his army as far as to the weſtern ocean, and embarking his troops on the Atlantick ſea, carried the war into an iſland of which many doubted the very exiſtence, and ſo extended the bounds of the Roman empire beyond the limits of the habitable world.

Alexander found a greater difficulty in conquering Porus who had only twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, than in conquering Darius with his innumerable armies; and the victory Alexander obtained over him, wherein he took him priſoner, redounded

dounded more to his glory than all his exploits against the Persians.

And yet this victory is not to be compared either with that obtained by Cæsar over Arioviſtus, or that other wherein he defeated the Nervii, the moſt warlike of the Belgæ. Nor will it ſtand in competition with his exploits againſt Ambiorix, who taking the advantage of his abſence fell upon Cotta and Titurius Sabinus in their quarters, and afterwards marched at the head of ſixty thouſand men to attack Cicero in his. Cæsar flew to his relief, with only ſeven thouſand men under his command. But what he wanted in ſtrength was ſupplied by conduct. He increaſed the preſumption of the barbarians by a feigned fear till he had decoyed them on to his intrenchments, which they had the boldneſs to attack in an undiſciplined diſorderly manner natural to thoſe whoſe confidence is augmented by a thorough contempt of the enemy; then he fell on them and made a horrible ſlaughter.

Neither will this engagement with Porus counterbalance that of Cæsar againſt Vercingetorix, who had raiſed againſt the Romans a war more terrible than any they had been engaged in before, and who marched down at the head of many confederated nations united together by the moſt ſolemn vows, and equally formidable for their courage and numbers. Cæsar in the midſt of a ſevere winter, with an expedition incredible even in a courier, marches againſt them, lays their country waſte, and ſtorms their city. They attack him in his march, and encompaſs him on every ſide; notwithſtanding which, he bravely ſtands the ſhock, and after a very obſtinate reſiſtance defeats them, and forces them to fly into Alexia.

The ſiege of Tyre, which Alexander took by aſſault, that of Gaza, which he took in the ſame manner after he had been wounded in an attack, thoſe

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of the rock of Siſimethres, and the town of the Mallians, are not all together to be put in the balance againſt the ſingle ſiege of Alexia, to which place Vercingetorix was purſued by Cæſar after his overthrow. Never was general engaged in a more difficult affair, or expoſed to greater dangers. There were ſeventy thouſand ſoldiers in the town, and three hundred thouſand of the braveſt men in Gaul marching to their relief; ſo that Cæſar found himſelf ſhut in between two numerous armies. His addreſs, his good ſenſe and courage drew him out of that terrible ſituation. He overthrew that prodigious multitude, forced Vercingetorix to ſurrender Alexia, and throw himſelf at his feet.

Alexander has nothing to oppoſe to this ſingle action of Cæſar's, nor to his conduct in the war of Alexandria, where he had a ſtrong town, and a powerful army, to contend with at the ſame time. And that which rendered his ſituation the more dangerous, was his want of water; and at the ſame time he was obliged to ſet fire to his fleet to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy. He ſurmounted all theſe difficulties by his great courage and capacity. He forced the king of Egypt to retire to his troops, attacked him in his camp, defeated him with a very great ſlaughter, obliged him to fly for his ſafety, and ſo put a glorious end to that war, if a war undertaken in behalf of a woman can ever be ſaid to be ended glorioufly.

The battle gained by Cæſar in Pontus againſt Pharnaces, who had defeated Domitius Calvinus, and taken Bithynia and Cappadocia from the Romans; his exploits in Spain againſt Pompey's lieutenants, Afranius and Varro, whom he ſtripped both of their troops and camps, may be parallelled with any two of Alexander's moſt glorious performances in Aſia.

But I queſtion if in all Alexander's exploits there can one be found to match the overthrow of Pompey

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in the plains of Pharsalia, or that of Scipio in Africa, where Cæsar in a few hours made himself master of three camps, and killed fifty thousand men, or the defeat of Pompey's sons under the walls of Munda, where Cæsar slew no less than thirty thousand men upon the spot, and owed his victory chiefly to his own valour and the example he gave his soldiers.

It may be said in favour of Alexander that he was always victorious; whereas Cæsar was sometimes defeated. But besides that a general is not to be reproached for any loss that is repaired almost as soon as received, this very thing turns to the advantage of Cæsar. For what idea must we conceive of troops that were able to beat Cæsar? and what glory must it be at last to conquer those troops? Besides, Alexander died young, in the full course of his prosperities, before fortune had time to think of turning the tide. If he had lived longer he might possibly have met with a reverse; for what man is there who in the whole course of a long life ever found her constant in her favours. Did not long life expose the great Cyrus to a cruel reverse? and did it not do the same by Pompey; without mentioning many other great kings and commanders, who have been striking instances of the vicissitude of human affairs.

But it may likewise be said that the premature death of Alexander takes off and lessens the advantages Cæsar has over him on account of his many victories. It is not reasonable to compare the sum total of a long life with that of a short one, which passed quick like a flash of lightning. If Alexander had lived as long as Cæsar, he might possibly have been beaten as Cæsar was; but he might likewise have performed as many great actions as Cæsar, and have excelled even himself.

That which gives Cæsar an incontestable advantage over his rival, is the quality of the enemies, they

they both had to encounter. Alexander had ſeldom or never any that made head againſt him, but ſuch as fled almoſt before they had charged, and who were not ſo properly to be called enemies as a booty that might be ſeized without any difficulty; whereas Cæſar had always to do with men nurſed in war, and who choſe rather to be hacked in pieces than quit their poſts. It was eaſier for Alexander to run over, or drive whole provinces before him, than for Cæſar to gain an inch of ground.

Beſides, Cæſar had not only thoſe fierce and warlike barbarians to oppoſe him; but had to do with Roman generals of the greateſt reputation, and with Roman armies; that is, with officers and ſoldiers who had triumphed over the greateſt part of the univerſe.

But if we are to meaſure their exploits not ſo much by the greatneſs of them, and the difficulties that attended them, as by the benefits that flowed from them, and the motives that produced them, we ſhall find the balance pretty even.

An enemy terrible for courage, fierceneſs, and numbers, arms againſt Rome. Cæſar delivers her from all thoſe dangers, which appeared to her ſo great, that even the prieſts, and old men, who otherwiſe were exempted from the wars, loſt their immunities in caſe of a war with the Gauls. All the temples were crouded, and the ſenate ordained publick prayers and proceſſions for fifteen days together, in thankſgiving to the gods, which had never been done before on account of any victory whatever.

Alexander's firſt exploits were equally profitable to his country; for he ſecured Macedonia againſt any inſults from her neighbours. But when that was done he purſued remote conqueſts; forgot the chief duty of a prince, which is the care of his people; drained Macedonia of her men and treaſure, and gave occaſion to thoſe diviſions, which in the end tore her

in pieces. Cæsar likewise by the civil wars spoiled all the fruits of his first exploits, and involved Rome in greater terrors than those from which he had before delivered her.

As for the motives, which are the soul of actions, and by which wise men have at all times measured the merits of them, Alexander in that particular appears much superior to Cæsar. If he undertook the conquest of Asia, it was in revenge of the ravages committed upon Greece by the barbarians. If he laboured to bring all into subjection, it was not to enslave mankind, but to make them happier. This character prevails in all his actions; he had no sooner overthrown Darius, and found himself at the head of the Persian empire, but Greece received the first fruits of his victories. His chief care was to abolish the tyrannies, and restore to all the cities their ancient rights and privileges. It may be said in answer to this, that Cæsar likewise enfranchised the Thessalians after the battle of Pharsalia; that he restored the Cnidians to their liberty, and eased the inhabitants of Asia of a third part of their taxes. But this character is not uniform, nor well supported; for in all his other actions he seems to be a perfect stranger to it. He sacrifices every thing to his ambition, and breaks through all the ties of honour and justice, to gratify it. He looks with pleasure on Cataline and his accomplices, whilst they are upon the point of overturning the empire by the revolt of nations and by foreign wars, and of laying Rome itself in ashes. He watches to make his advantage of those troubles and that conflagration, that he may reign absolute in a desolate city reduced to ashes. In vain did the small remains of natural reason, which inwardly condemns all sorts of transgressions, fill his soul with agitation and horror, when he was upon the point of passing the Rubicon in order to render himself master of Italy.

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The thirſt of power got the better of all thoſe remonſtrances, and in ſpite of his remorſe, he hurries blindly into an undertaking that was unavoidably to produce ſo many calamities. There was not one Roman throughout the empire whom he did not injure in the higheſt degree; for he robbed him of his liberty, which is the greateſt bleſſing of mankind. The character of tyrant was ſo deeply rooted in him, that notwithſtanding that gentleneſs of behaviour with which he endeavoured to diſguiſe it, even then when he ſeemed to be rendering his country the moſt important ſervices by his ſucceſsful undertakings, at that time was he endeavouring and contriving to bring her into ſubjection. He exerciſes himſelf againſt his enemies only that he may know how to ſubdue and enſlave his fellow-ſubjects. His very offers and propoſals for an accommodation, though they outwardly appeared ſo juſt and reaſonable, were in truth no better than ſo many baits laid to amuſe and decoy his rival. In ſhort, Cæſar ſeemed to have been born for the deſtruction, and Alexander for the happineſs of mankind.

In the character of their courage there is an eſſential difference, which gives Alexander infinitely the advantage over Cæſar. In all the performances of Cæſar we ſee the great man, but ſtill it is man; there is nothing in them above the reach of human power. Whereas in the great actions performed by Alexander, one can diſtinguiſh as it were ſome rays of divinity. His attempts were fitter for a god than a mortal, and yet he executes them; like Achilles, he proves the truth of Homer's definition of valour, who ſays that it is a divine inſpiration, and that ſome god takes poſſeſſion of the man for the time, and acts within him. Cæſar claims our eſteem, but Alexander forces our admiration.

This air of divinity is not only perceived in his military operations, but is blended likewise in his civil actions. Upon his setting out for Asia he gave all he had to his friends, reserving only hope for himself. After his conquests, those princes who had been conquered by him, or submitted to him, received from him dominions larger than they had lost, and parted from him loaden with presents. Every thing that came near him felt the effects of his bounty and magnificence. Alexander bestowed not like a king, but like the master of the universe.

Cæsar's bounty is a mercenary bounty; he does not give, but buys at a great price the people's votes and interests. Whereas the bounty of Alexander flows from a beneficence natural to him; like that of the gods, it aims only at the pleasure and glory of bestowing.

Cæsar heaped up great treasures, which he kept in reserve, that he might be able in due time to reward that valour that should be serviceable to his purposes. But Alexander was not satisfied with rewarding magnificently those that served him; he carried his gratitude further, and continued to the children of such as had died in his service the pay of their fathers, the memory of whose brave actions he thus transmitted to posterity, and propsed them as examples for their imitation.

This greatness of soul breaks forth even in his most familiar discourses. When Parmenio advised him to accept of Darius's offers, and told him "that he "would if he was Alexander: and so would I," replied Alexander very briskly, "if I was Parmenio. When his friends pressed him not to attack Darius but in the night-time, that he might conceal from his troops the prodigious numbers with which they were to engage, he replied, "I will not steal a victory." When Parmenio expressed his astonishment at his being able to sleep so soundly and calmly the night before

fore the battle; "What," replied Alexander, "doſt "thou not think we have already conquered, now we "have ſtopped the flight of the enemy, and brought "him to engage us?" There is a ſublime in this ſimplicity, which nothing can equal. Here Alexander is as much Alexander as he is in the greateſt of his actions.

Thoſe ſayings of Cæſar that have been preſerved, contain nothing in them ſo great and noble, unleſs we except his ſpeech to the pilot, who, amazed at the danger he was in, and unable to ſtem the tide, was for turning back; "Be bold," ſaid he, "and fear nothing, "thou carrieſt Cæſar and his fortune." He would have had the confidence in his fortune to outweigh with the pilot the terrors of an inſtant death, with which he was threatened. This ſaying was the argument of a great mind, but perhaps it ſhould have been juſtified by the ſucceſs, to have appeared as great as thoſe of Alexander.

Alexander transfuſed this greatneſs of mind into his troops; his ſoldiers thought themſelves more than men whilſt they were fighting under him. It is true, that in this reſpect Cæſar had the ſame advantage with Alexander. His ſoldiers, who under other commanders performed nothing more than other men, became under him invincible heroes. And yet both the one and the other have ſometimes been expoſed to the murmurs, and experienced the deſpondency of their troops; but they both knew how to animate them, and to bring them back to their duty by the ſame means, and with the ſame magnanimity.

There was a ſtrong reſemblance between them in ſeveral moral qualities; they ſhowed the ſame frugality in their way of living, and the ſame zeal and attachment for their friends. But Alexander never gave ſo high an inſtance of his attention to friends as Cæſar did; when being forced by a violent ſtorm to a poor hovel, in which there was but one room, and that

hardly big enough to hold one man, he quitted it to one of his friends that happened to be sick, and lay himself under the pent-house. Alexander interested himself in behalf of his friends, but Cæsar suffered inconveniences for the sake of his.

They have both of them been commended for their clemency and humanity, of which it is certain they gave extraordinary instances on many occasions. Alexander pardoned the Athenians who had received the Thebans into their city; and Cæsar pardoned the officers in Pompey's army, who were taken prisoners in the battle of Pharsalia. Alexander coming up to Darius the moment after he had expired, was sensibly touched at the sight of that unhappy prince, and sincerely lamented his misfortunes. And when the head of Pompey was presented to Cæsar, he turned away his eyes, and burst into tears. And yet both the one and the other were guilty of actions that were cruel and inhuman. Cæsar put to death several persons of consular and pretorian dignity, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Thapsus; and Alexander at his first arrival in Asia ordered his soldiers to put every man to the sword without distinction. But Cæsar was the most to be blamed; for his cruelty was exercised upon conquered enemies, from whom he had nothing to fear; whereas those against whom Alexander gave such directions were as yet unconquered, and had their arms in their hands. It is true, the cruelty he showed in the sacking of Thebes, was useless; but the sorrow he afterwards expressed, and the bitter remorse he felt for that barbarity, plead for a pardon. The same may be said of the murder of Clitus, the ignominy of which was effaced by his grief and despair. Besides, that murder was committed in the transports of a violent passion, aggravated, and inflamed by wine.

We cannot make the ſame excuſe for the puniſhment of Philotas, that of Calliſthenes, or the death of Parmenio, whom he ordered to be ſlain in Media after all the great ſervices he had performed for him. Theſe cruelties committed in cold blood upon ſlight accuſations without any proofs, will remain as indelible blots upon his character and memory.

His breach of faith in putting a whole garriſon to the ſword, after they had ſurrendered upon articles, is ſtill more infamous. Never were any of Cæſar's exploits blaſted with ſuch treachery: unleſs we place in the ſame light that which he was guilty of in his march againſt the Germans, of whom he ſlew three hundred thouſand, notwithſtanding the peace that ſubſiſted betwixt them and the Romans. But this action was juſtified by all the Romans, who returned their thanks to the Gods for it; whereas that of Alexander was never excuſed by any one.

Alexander, miſled by the glaring ſhow of Achilles's valour, made choice of that hero for his imitation, and without diſtinguiſhing between what was truly great, and what was barbarous and brutal in his character, imitated him in the moſt faulty parts of it. To this pernicious imitation we are to impute the barbarity he exerciſed upon the Cuſſæans, when he ſlaughtered them all, men, women, and children, in his ſorrow for the death of Hephæſtion, calling that horrible butchery a ſacrifice to his departed friend. He unluckily remembered that Achilles had ſacrificed ſeveral Trojan princes upon the tomb of Patroclus, and forgot that the poet's relation of that inhumanity includes in it a condemnation of it. He did not reflect how much his barbarity exceeded that of the fierce and implacable Achilles. Patroclus had been ſlain by a Trojan, but the Cuſſæans were innocent of the death of Hephæſtion. Cæſar never ran into ſuch barbarous exceſſes.

On the other hand, none of Cæsar's most celebrated victories can be compared with that glorious conquest which Alexander obtained over himself, when having in his power the wife and daughters of Darius, he listened to wisdom only and reason. They were in his camp as in a holy temple, honoured and served with all the respect due to their dignity and their virtue.

Never therefore did any prince receive a greater encomium than Alexander did from the mouth of Darius, when after his defeat he besought the Gods that if it was their pleasure to put an end to the empire of the Persians, that no one but Alexander might sit upon the throne of Cyrus; and afterwards when he was just expiring he gave him the tendereſt marks of affection and acknowledgment, and died praying the Gods to recompense Alexander for the humanity, indulgence, and generosity shown by him to that which was the dearest to him of all things in the world. This testimony given him by a dying enemy will be more valued by a wise man than all the monuments raised to Cæsar's glory; a testimony singly worth all Cæsar's triumphs.

Cæsar can by no means be compared with Alexander on the score of chastity. What comparison can there be between a man so infamous for his incontinence, as to be called in full senate, "The husband of "every woman, and the wife of every man," with a prince, who was the perfect model of modesty and virtue! It is true, the tincture Alexander had received in his education did not preserve its force and beauty to the end, but by degrees faded and died. He fell at last into irregularities, and was not proof against a detestable vice for which he had always before expreſt an abhorrence. But this may be charged upon his long commerce with the barbarians, the most effeminate and dissolute of mankind.

Sobriety

Sobriety is a virtue requiſite in all men, but indiſpenſable in a Prince. The vice oppoſite to it plunges them into diſorders, which without reckoning the miſchiefs they occaſion, degrade them, and make them unworthy the high rank they bear in the world. Here juſtice and injuſtice loſe their diſtinctions, and a man is led by no other guide but his unruly paſſions. Alexander loved to ſit long at table without being addicted to wine; but in the latter part of his life he wallowed in exceſſes that diſgraced him. He ſet fire to the palace of Perſepolis at the inſtigation of a harlot in one of his debauches, and murdered Clitus in another. Cæſar on the other hand kept himſelf always ſober, even by the confeſſion of his enemies. Cato ſaid of him "that he "was the only man noted for his ſobriety that ever un-"dertook to overturn the government."

The robe of the barbarians which Alexander wore, and that mixture he introduced of the Perſian cuſtoms with thoſe of the Macedonians might be juſtified by ſome politick views, if it did not appear that vanity was at the bottom, and if it was not always thought diſhonourable for the conqueror to ſtoop to, and follow the cuſtoms of the vanquiſhed. But perhaps this forgetfulneſs of himſelf may be attributed to the exceſs of his proſperity. Where ſhall we find a young victorious Prince capable of reſiſting the conſtant favours of fortune, always courting, always careſſing him?

The Bacchanalian life he led in Carmania, where for ſeven days together he marched in ſuch a diſſolute licentious manner, as was fit only for thoſe that celebrate the orgies of Bacchus, is a diſhonour to that expedition. Cæſar led ſuch another in Theſſaly, which he marched through at the head of his army wallowing in wine and debauch. Both the one and the other may poſſibly be excuſed, from the great ſcarcity they had juſt ſuffered in their former marches. Who knows

knows not how difficult it is to keep troops within bounds, who after suffering a long and painful famine fall on a sudden into rich and plentiful quarters? But Cæsar's army is still the more excusable, as his men found in their debauch a remedy for the contagious distemper with which they were afflicted.

We often find in the greatest men a mixture of grandeur and meanness, at which those who do not well consider the infirmity of human nature would be astonished. Alexander is not satisfied with that true and substantial reputation, which he might justly expect from posterity on account of his great exploits, but he is for imposing on the world by false appearances. He causes to be made arms of an extraordinary size, mangers for his horses higher, and the bits of his bridles heavier than ordinary, which he scatters up and down in the plains of the Ganges, on purpose to excite a greater admiration of him in future generations. Cæsar never let slip from him the least instance of such a vanity, or rather of such a weakness. So far was he from adding to his reputation by a falsity, that he would not so much as contradict a falsity that had been raised to lessen his reputation. The Averni showed in one of their temples a sword, which they had caused to be hung up there, as a spoil taken from Cæsar, and they continue to show it to this very day. Once in his passage through the country he was carried to see that sword, and his friends pressed him to have it removed as a memorial that disparaged him; but he only laughed; and considering it as a thing consecrated he left it where he found it, building his glory on the merit of his exploits.

True courage does not appear only in the operations of war; there are other instances, wherein the terror may seem less, but the danger is greater; and which therefore require a more firm and determined courage. Of this sort Cæsar has nothing wherein he may

may be compared to Alexander, who, when in a dangerous fit of ſickneſs he was informed by a letter from Parmenio that his phyſician had been bribed to poiſon him, received with one hand the doſe that had been prepared for him, and with the other delivered to the phyſician the letter wherein he was accuſed of the parricide, and whilſt he was reading it ſwallowed the medicine without heſitation, and without ſhowing the leaſt token of ſuſpicion or uneaſineſs. Perhaps policy, always timorous and diſtruſtful, will charge this action with imprudence, but heroiſm will find ſuch marks in it as to acknowledge it for her own.

Cæſar's ambition was to get himſelf declared King by a people who had an invincible averſion to monarchy, and that of Alexander was to have the people own him for a God. The ambition of the one was unjuſt, and that of the other impious. But there is this difference between them, Cæſar would have been declared King, after he had involved the ſtate in innumerable calamities, and Alexander would have paſſed for a God after all the world had been ſenſible of his beneficence. He ſcattered around him light and happineſs where-ever he went, and whereſoever he conquered; they only who had not a ſight of him remained in darkneſs, like thoſe who are deprived of the light of the ſun. One of them ſhowed himſelf unworthy to be a King by the miſeries he had occaſioned, and the other ſeemed a God by the benefits he had procured.

If we examine them with reſpect to religion, which is the foundation of morality, we ſhall find Alexander's opinions of the divinity were ſound enough, which may be owing to his converſe with the greateſt philoſophers, to whom he always ſhowed an affectionate regard. He conſtantly began his expedition with a ſacrifice, and never failed to return thanks to the Gods for any ſucceſs they had granted him.

To

To this religious principle was owing the respect he ever showed to priests and sanctuaries. Cæsar did not appear so well instructed, nor so devout. He performed sacrifices on important occasions, and purified his troops, but this seemed in him to be done more out of custom than devotion, and he was more sollicitous to consult the Gods than to return his thanksgivings to them. That wherein they both agreed was an art of eluding the presages when they were not favourable, or else of laughing at them, or by some turn of wit construing them to their own advantage. The only difference between them in this point was, that Cæsar was always the same, whereas Alexander fell into a most horrible superstition, always more injurious to the divinity than irreligion itself, as we have shown elsewhere.

However it appeared by the miracles the Gods wrought in favour of Alexander, that providence particularly watched over him. The wonderful rain that fell all on a sudden whilst he was traversing the deserts in order to consult the Oracle of Ammon, and which both refreshed his army that was ready to die for thirst, and at the same time delivered it from the danger of being buried in those heaps of moving sand raised by the south wind like so many mountainous waves, and the crows which guided them by their flight in the day-time, and by their croaking in the night, are manifest evidences of this providence. The Gods never showed any thing like it in behalf of Cæsar.

It is the distinguishing quality of the ambitious person to count for nothing what is past, to be constantly aiming to surmount that which is the highest, and, when there is no other rival left, to turn a rival to, and labour to surpass himself. Such was the ambition of Cæsar, and Alexander. This last, after he had pushed his conquests even as far as to the rising sun, thought of embarking on the Euphrates,

of

of ſailing round the ſouth ſea, and entering by Hercules's pillars into the Mediterranean, and thus of ſubduing the ſouth as he had already done the eaſt. And Cæſar not content with his conqueſts, which reached on one ſide to the Euphrates, and on the other beyond the Atlantick ocean, was preparing to make an expedition againſt the Parthians, to traverſe Hyrcania, and marching by the ſide of mount Caucaſus, and the Caſpian ſea to enter into Scythia, and proceeding forwards to ſubdue the nations bordering on Germany, and finally Germany itſelf, and to return from thence to Rome, after having thus delineated the ſpacious circle of the Roman empire, and given it on every ſide the ocean for its boundary. And at the ſame time that he was buſied in theſe preparations he gave orders for ſeveral prodigious works deſigned for the glory and accommodation of Rome. Can the whole world ſhow two other inſtances of ſuch prodigious ambition? But death, which laughs at all human deſigns, interpoſed, and overturned their mighty projects.

They reſembled one another in their deaths, which were ſeverally preceded by ſigns and admonitions. Alexander is warned by the Chaldeans not to enter Babylon; he deſpiſes the warning, enters and returns to his camp, and then laughs at the prediction. The Chaldeans aſſure him the menace ſtill hung over him, and that Babylon would be fatal to him; he returns thither, and there he dies.

Cæſar in like manner is adviſed by a ſoothſayer to beware of the ides of March. When the day was come he laughed at the ſoothſayer, telling him, "The "ides of March were come:" "Yes" replied the prophet, "but they are not paſt;" and that very day he was murdered. But if they reſembled one another in their deaths, as they were both forewarned by prodigies, they differed very much in the manner of their reſpective deaths, and the circumſtances attending them.

them. Alexander died in his bed of a sickness owing to an immoderate debauch, and was regretted and lamented by the Persians as well as Macedonians; whereas Cæsar was stabbed in full senate by those he had honoured with his favour and benevolence, and the murderers were for some time looked on by the Romans as their deliverers; they decreed them the highest honours, and the most considerable provinces. Alexander by his actions forced even his enemies to love and admire him, whereas Cæsar drew on himself the envy and hatred of his fellow-citizens. As he had made himself a tyrant he came to a violent end, dying the death of a tyrant.

Livy thought it not unbecoming him to interrupt the thread of his history by examining what might have been the fortune of Alexander, if instead of marching against the barbarians he had turned his arms against Italy. I think it less foreign to the design of this comparison to enquire in this place which would be most advantageous to a state to have an Alexander for their General, or a Cæsar, considering them only in their military and political capacities.

Alexander's actions carry a lustre with them that dazzles the eye; his enthusiastick valour transports the reader, as he was transported with it himself. In Cæsar's we find more of safety, and sedateness. To follow Alexander, is to be in perpetual alarms, and apprehensions for him. If we follow Cæsar, his wisdom and experience quiet us, his conduct inspires us with more confidence, than the dangers, to which we see him expose himself, do with terror. A transport of courage is not always the surest guide; it is often a blind impetuosity, the source of temerity; and temerity in the long run must be unfortunate. Nothing can be more dangerous for a state than to have their General trust to miracles, for miracles are not always certain, but, as Aristophanes says, the Gods will grow weary of conducting the rash and inconsi-

inconſiderate, who make an ill uſe of their aſſiſtance. If Alexander had been worſted in any one engagement he would have been ſo for the whole war, without ever being able to recover himſelf again. Whereas Cæſar when beaten found in himſelf freſh ſupplies, and was ſure to conquer the conquerors. For as it is the eſſential quality of indiſcretion to turn even good fortune into bad, prudence on the contrary draws good out of evil, and is the mother of ſucceſs. If fortune is ſometimes pleaſed to exert her power againſt her, ſhe is foiled at laſt, and forced to ſubmit.

END of the FOURTH VOLUME.

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